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Cuthbert
The Life & Times of
Bishop Ullathorne

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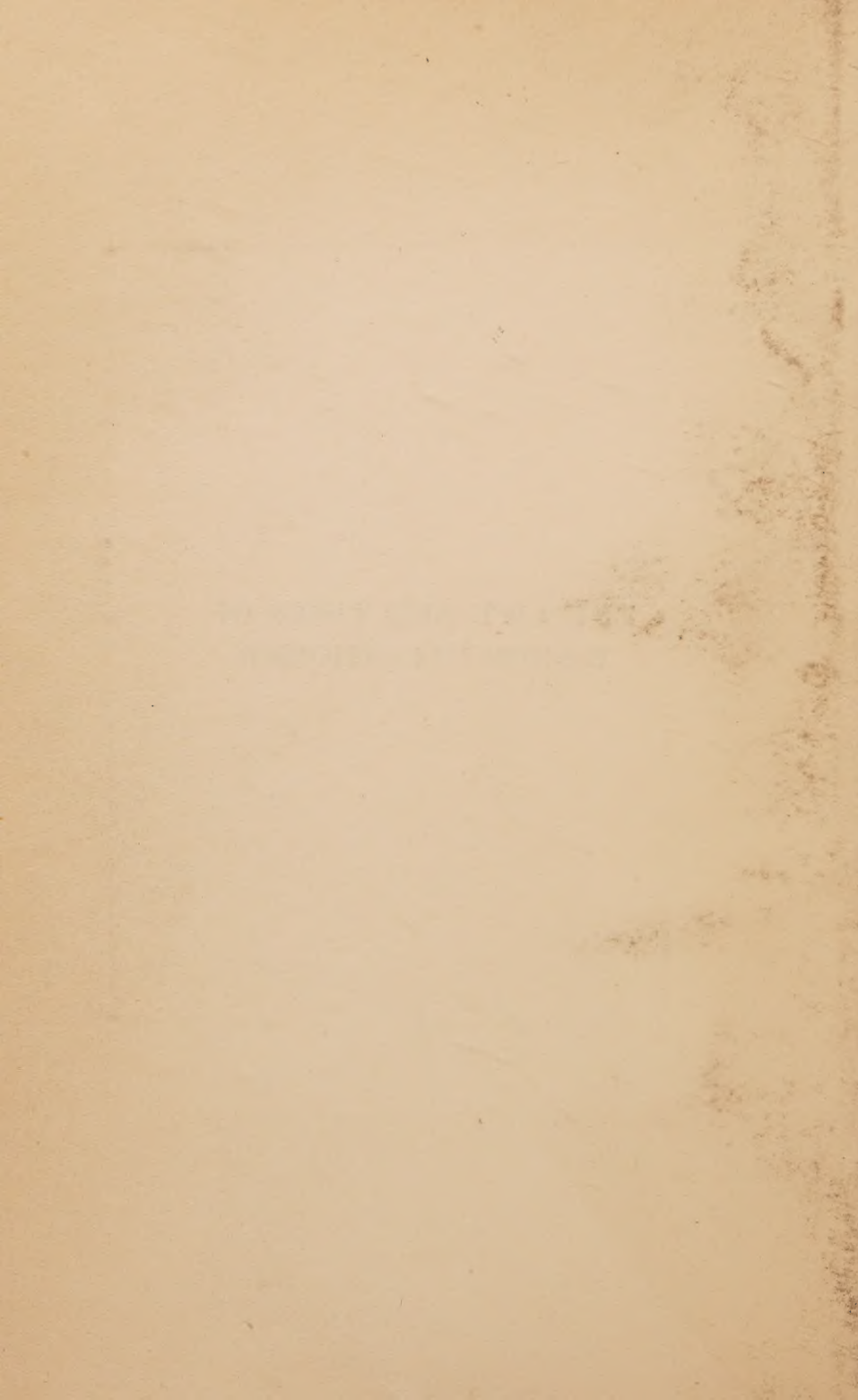
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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
BISHOP ULLATHORNE







William Ullathorne
at the age of seventeen (end of 1822)
from a miniature at Oscott College

Emery Walker photo.

THE
LIFE & TIMES OF
BISHOP ULLATHORNE

1806-1889

BY

DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER

BENEDICTINE MONK OF DOWNSIDE ABBEY

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INTRODUCTION

THIRTY-SIX years have passed since Bishop Ullathorne died. Seeing the number of biographies of Catholic worthies of England that have appeared during these years, it is surely surprising that he has had to wait so long for a biographer; and all the more so, in that his eventful life and his relations with great men and stirring movements offer materials of manifold interest. The gap would ere this have been filled, had the late Bishop Bernard Ward been able to carry through the next stage of his *Story of the English Catholics*; for it was his intention to make Bishop Ullathorne the central figure for the years after the Hierarchy.

As first designed, this book was to have been a strictly personal Life, in one volume, not trenching on the ground of the general history of the English Catholics. But so closely was Ullathorne connected with every phase of that history for half a century, and so intimate were his relations with the chief actors, that the original idea had to be abandoned; thus it has come about that this book is in two volumes, wherein are interwoven the Life of Ullathorne and a continuation of Bishop Ward's history for the forty years that elapsed between the Hierarchy, 1850, and the deaths of Ullathorne, Newman, and Manning, round 1890. These forty years were a time of transition, and the coming of Archbishop Vaughan to Westminster marked the beginning of the new epoch in which English Catholics are still living.

I know that in some high quarters Bishop Ward's books were looked on askance, as an opening up of long-ago controversies and quarrels, long since dead and buried. But, for better for worse, Church History is in great measure made up of the differences and quarrels of good men. And it is my belief that those who figure in these pages — Wise-

man, Errington, Manning, Newman, Ullathorne, Clifford, Vaughan, and the rest—are good enough men, and big enough men, to be able to bear their fair share of human infirmity. Therefore are they allowed to appear as saying what they said, doing what they did, and being what they were; it being my conviction that the general picture is at once very human and quite edifying—the most real kind of edification.

As for my hero: it is my hope that not only does he stand out as a good, and strong, and human man and churchman; but also that his title has been made good to a place in the honourable band of the Great Victorians.

To those who have helped, indeed made possible, the production of this work, by placing at my disposal letters and other documents, my thanks are tendered. Such obligations are acknowledged in the course of the book. But it is right that here I should specially name with gratitude the Mother Provincial of the Dominican Convent at Stone; the Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory; the authorities at Oscott; and Rev. Joseph Parker, Bishop Ullathorne's secretary and executor. I have to thank also Canon Burton for reading and advising on the central portion of the work, chapters VIII to XVII, those concerned with the general questions that vexed the English Catholics.

CUTHBERT BUTLER

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LIFE AND TIMES OF BISHOP ULLATHORNE

CHAPTER I

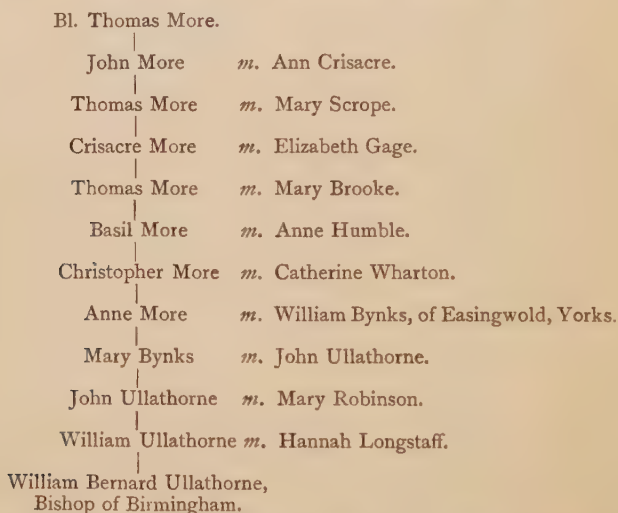
EARLY LIFE TILL ORDINATION (1806—1831)

WE should know nothing of William Ullathorne's early life, and at this distance nothing would be recoverable, had he not told the story himself in his *Autobiography*. This first Chapter of his Life is therefore, except the last few pages, a reproduction of what he himself has left on record in the first fifty pages of the *Autobiography*. Anecdotes, comments, and reflections are omitted, and only the substantive portions retained—the chronicle of facts, and the matter illustrative of character and intellectual and other formation. A few additions have been made from the original *Autobiography* of 1868; the printed text is a revision made by Ullathorne in 1888.

I was born at Pocklington, in Yorkshire, on the 7th of May, in the year 1806, and was the eldest of ten children. My father was a grocer, draper, and spirit merchant, and did half the business of the town, supplying it with coal before it had a canal, and, in the absence of a bank, discounting bills. His father had descended from gentle birth, but owing to a singular incident he became a shoemaker, and afterwards a farmer. For his father [i.e., the bishop's great-grandfather] was a gentleman of landed estate in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which estate he acquired through his marriage with Miss Bynks, to whom it came as heiress of Mr Bynks, who had married Miss More, a lineal descendant of Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor and Martyr, and the

sister of Mrs Waterton, who is commemorated by her grandson, the celebrated traveller and naturalist of Waterton Hall, in his autobiography.¹ The estate was forfeited through the insurrection of 1745 in favour of the claims of the Stuarts, after which my grandfather and his brother Francis were taken in charge by Dr Lawrence, a Catholic physician of York. The two boys, however, were so terrified at the discovery of a skeleton in a cupboard in their bedroom that they both ran away. My grandfather apprenticed himself to a shoemaker, his brother fled to London, and there engaged himself to a chemist; and thus the turn in the fortunes of the family was completed. Yet the traditions cherished in the family had the effect of sustaining a certain tone and

¹ Dr Ullathorne's descent from Bl. Thomas More is shown thus :



On the occasion of Bl. Thomas More's beatification Dr Ullathorne wrote, December 31, 1886: 'Of course you know our family connection with that of Sir Thomas More. Old Mr Frank Ullathorne and my grandfather were sons of the man who married Miss Bynks, and so came into the Bynks property. Miss Bynks's mother was directly descended from Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor Martyr. My grandfather used to talk of his mother having the watch and Garter of Sir Thomas More as Knight of the Garter; what became of them I do not know' (*Letters*, p. 489).

The Ullathornes appear to have been of the race of strong yeomen farmers of Yorkshire, who had clung to the Old Religion steadfastly throughout the penal times, and married into one of the lesser county families.

self-respect, which was not without its influence on mind and manners.

My dear mother (Hannah Longstaff) was a native of Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, of which county her father was Chief Constable. Sir John Franklin, the Arctic navigator, was her cousin, and next-door neighbour in their youthful days. She well remembered Sir Joseph Banks, of Captain Cook's exploring expedition, under whose influence young Franklin went to sea. My father met my mother in London, where they were both engaged in Townshend's great drapery business in Holborn; he converted her to the faith and then married her, after which they commenced business in Pocklington on their own account.

On his seventy-seventh birthday he wrote: 'My mind naturally goes back to the year 1806, and to the house where a young couple, having but recently begun the struggles of life with a future depending on their joint efforts, were filled with solicitude for the safety of the mother and child.'¹ As my father was a popular character, and my mother was greatly esteemed and respected for her gentle kindness and her good sense, their children were much noticed and every house was open to them. I was sent to learn my first letters from a Miss Plummer, the daughter of a Protestant clergyman, who lived to a very advanced age. At home, I learnt to say my prayers at my mother's knee; and although she was engaged all day in business, yet, with the aid of a confidential servant, devoted up to old age to the family, she contrived to keep us in good order and discipline. Indeed, a grave look from her was always a sufficient correction.

There was a little chapel at Pocklington with only two windows in it, a small presbytery, and a long slip of garden. The priest was the Abbé Fidèle, a venerable French emigrant, long remembered there and at York for his piety, simplicity, and charity. He used to kneel before the little altar in a Welsh or worsted wig, saying his prayers, until Miss Constable, the patroness of the mission, arrived in the vestry, which was also his dining-room and parlour; he then rose up and entered the vestry, where in sight of the little flock, he pulled off his wig, powdered his head, and came in vested

¹ *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, p. 437.

with his two servers for the Mass. I was told at a later period that he had four written sermons, and that when he had read the first words of one of them the congregation knew the rest by heart. Other French emigrant priests occasionally visited our house, and I remember one was Dr Gilbert, a man of great dignity of bearing, who told us dreadful narratives of his escapes from the guillotine. He was afterwards raised to an important prelacy in France. It is very odd that our old nurse, who was so fond of us, and often heard our prayers when our mother was engaged, was a strong Methodist, and used sometimes to express in our hearing her contempt for priests and 'their trumpery'.

As soon as I was able to read, I got hold of a pictorial book of Bible stories, lent me by a lady, which gave me an interest in the sacred Scriptures; and, as I grew a little older, I used to read with wondering pleasure the Book of Genesis, and with still more delight the Book of Revelation, in the Protestant version (for I do not suppose that at that time my parents knew that we had an English Catholic version). My father had an intimate friend, a Mr Holmes, a solicitor, a man of a bright face and cheerful ringing laugh, who was fond of reading good literature aloud. He was quite a character and passionately fond of the drama. He lent me the *Arabian Nights*, *Gulliver's Travels*, and other books which fostered my imaginative tendency. I was a heavy, clumsy urchin, with what a Protestant clergyman's daughter described as 'large blobbing eyes', silent when not asked to give an account of my reading, but always ready to give that account. I cared little for play, and my parents did not know what they could ever make of me. My second brother was active and agile, and this made me look all the more lumpy in the eyes of my neighbours, and awakened many a joke at my expense. The climax of my literary enjoyment was when *Robinson Crusoe* came into my hands. I never tired of reading it, and of talking of it to anyone who chose to draw me out. I believe it did much to give me a taste for the sea at a later period; and when in the course of my missionary life I sailed in fine weather past Juan Fernandez, all the dreams of my early life were reawakened.

We could not have been more than eight and seven years old respectively, when I and my next brother were sent to school at the village of Burnby, some two miles from home. The master of the school was a character and had a reputation, and my father had learnt English grammar under him. We went on the Monday morning and returned home on the Saturday afternoon, lodging at the village blacksmith's, whose wife had been my nurse. The master had more than once hard work to conquer my pride, in which he unfortunately failed. For the more he thrashed me, the more I quietly, but desperately, stiffened my spirit to endure, and afterwards boasted that he had not conquered. After a certain time we passed from the blacksmith's to lodge at the wheelwright's, whose wife was the daughter of the old village clergyman, and who had a brother-in-law the clergyman of a neighbouring village. Here we had better accommodation and pleasant company. I still bear the marks on my fingers of the chops they got from bungling with the great axe in the wheelwright's shop.

I suppose I must have been between nine and ten years old when my father transferred his residence and business to Scarborough. He there became popular by breaking down a system of union among tradesmen to keep up prices at a point agreed upon, and by cheapening the grocery, drapery, and wine trades one after another. Here I first saw the sea, the object of my aspirations from the time I had read *Robinson Crusoe*, and I recollect all the circumstances of my first view of it from the top of the northern cliffs, and the expansion which that wonder of creation gave to my mind. My second brother and I were placed as day scholars at Mr Hornsey's school, which had some reputation both as a boarding and day school. Hornsey was a genuine pedant as well as pedagogue, and the fact of his having published an English grammar and some other elementary books did not diminish the importance of the man. We stood in awe of him, and of his moral lessons, given with pompous intonation when occasion served. But we took more kindly to his son and to a second usher, who was preparing for the Anglican ministry. He taught his own grammar; but though I was quick and fond of knowledge, he never ex

plained or taught us to apply the principles of grammar. He was a well-meaning man of the high and dry Protestant type, and conspicuous from afar, with his portly figure, white hat, clouded cane, and decided strut. I think, however, that I got my mind more enlarged through one of the boys, who had a collection of voyages and travels, which he lent to his companions at a penny a volume.

At twelve years old my father took me from school and put me to his business, with the idea that if I returned to school again, after two years of trade, I should better appreciate the value of school, and should be able to apply my mind with more practical intelligence to such mercantile education as I required. I trudged on for twelve months, getting an insight into my father's three businesses, and into the method of managing account books and money transactions, but with no great taste for this kind of occupation. In the evenings I was indulged by being allowed to follow my passion for reading, which I did by running through all the books that tempted me by their titles in the two circulating libraries then in the town. Voyages and travels were still my leading attraction, though I did also run through many rubbishy novels and romances. I followed my reading after everyone had gone to bed, and put my book under my pillow for a fresh start in the morning before business began.

This miscellaneous and undirected reading filled me with a strong desire to see the world, and as the only way of accomplishing this, I set my mind on going to sea. To this proposal my mother and father long and justly objected, but seeing that I was bent in that direction, they yielded at last, still hoping that I should sicken of it after trial. A Scarborough ship was to be my destiny, and I was nearly put under the roughest and most cruel tyrant that ever sailed from that port, a man who had hung up his own son by the thumbs, and whose atrocities to his apprentices had become a proverb among seamen. But providentially my father found out his character in time to save me from him.

Happily for me, a fine brig was going to be launched, whose owners were my father's friends, and which was to be commanded by a captain superior to the ordinary run of

mercantile captains, a man of gentlemanly manners and feelings, and whose wife, a superior woman, always sailed with him. I can never forget the kindness of Mrs Wrougham to me. Our officers and crew were also picked men, connected with decent persons in Scarborough. One of my father's assistants, a man of mature years, having taken a fancy to the sea, sailed in the same ship.

When, however, the Rev. Mr Haydock came next Sunday to Scarborough, he looked very gravely on the notion of my going to sea. He saw its perils for a youth of my proud character, spoke seriously against it, and was evidently distressed. But finding it was all settled, he told me to go to him to prepare to receive the Sacraments before I left. But alas! in my boy's conceit, fostered by all this reading, by my fondness for isolating myself and musing alone on the cliffs and sea beach, I fancied that the good priest was obtruding too much on what concerned me. I did not go to him at the time appointed, and even spoke of it to the shopmen and servants, who let me see that this did not edify them. Pained at my breaking his appointment, the good priest sent for me again, and when I reached the sacristy he made me stand at the door and gave me a grave rebuke, which did not advance matters. Had he been sympathetic perhaps he would have won me; but that is no excuse. I went to sea without the Sacraments.

We were proud of our brig, the *Leghorn*; she was handsome, quick and easily handled. We literally walked past most craft of our kind and trim. I was cabin boy, and my dear mother had stipulated with Captain Wrougham that I should not go aloft for the first three months. We took out a cargo of merchandise from Newcastle to Leghorn;¹ went thence to Barcelona, and then to Tarragona, where we shipped a cargo of nuts for Hull. The nuts were brought by long strings of mules over the mountains; were then sorted on long tables by women in the stores, and shot out of sacks into the hold like corn. The captain treated me almost like his son, kept me a good deal aloof from the sailors,

¹ The full accounts of the voyages in the *Autobiography* are of much interest.

except in the night watches, and never let me go ashore except with himself.

I soon attracted the attention of the sailors by beguiling the night watches with stories from my readings under the lee of the long boat, repeating large portions, among other things, of Sir Walter Scott's earliest novels. This, with the knowledge they had of my friends, made me respected among them, although they did not fail to give me the rough side of their tongue now and then, especially for my want of smartness in action, the favourite quality of a sailor. A specimen of this kind of regard for me was curiously exhibited at Gibraltar. As we entered the Bay and looked upon the tremendous Rock, with its projecting cannon, I was in a romantic rapture, not at all diminished by a shot sent between our masts from the batteries for neglecting to hoist our colours. Having care of them, I made but one step off the companion ladder, and pitched on deck the horsehair bag that contained them, and the ensign was aloft in a moment. My familiarity with Drinkwater's *Siege of Gibraltar* made the whole scene classic to my mind. But the captain, in his good nature, allowed the men to purchase private stores of rum; and, of course, they all got dead drunk, so that the ship at anchor was left to the care of the mate, myself and another boy, the only sober creatures on board, for the captain was ashore. The men lay sprawling half on deck, half in the forecastle; one of them was so mad that he went to hit another man for some fancied offence, but finding that he had struck the boy Bill (myself to wit) he was so vexed that he flung himself overboard, and, had not the mate jumped into a boat alongside and caught hold of him, he would certainly have been drowned.

After discharging our cargo at Hull we took horses on board for St Petersburg. In our first voyage to the Baltic, when anchored between Copenhagen and Drago, such a heavy gale came on that we had to cut cable, leave a buoy over the anchor, and run for the open sea. There was a sort of ceremony on this occasion. When all was ready the captain himself took the axe and cut the cable. But when we got off the Isle of Bornholm the wind increased to still greater vehemence and a storm of sleet drove keenly in our faces. I

and another lad were ordered aloft to furl the main-top gallant, prior to reefing the topsail. But when we got on the yard the folds of the sail were so full of sleet, it so cut our faces, blinding our eyes, our hands were so benumbed, whilst one of my shoes blew off, that we could do nothing except hold on. It was a critical moment, for we were on a lee shore without refuge. The curses sent up from deck did not stimulate us, so a man of light weight was sent up, and as we got down and jumped on deck crack came a rope's end across our backs.

In the same voyage we had to run into one of the Swedish Sounds, where, landlocked and in smooth water, we had to wait for the subsidence of a gale. Here it was my delight to ramble in the valleys gathering bilberries and strawberries, and lying on a green bank to listen to the sounds that hummed in the air of insects, birds, silvery threads of waterfalls, and the woodman's axe. Then the mate would take me with him in the jolly-boat with jib and leg-of-mutton sail, and we traversed the transparent water from shore to shore. So clear was the water that we saw everything distinctly at a great depth on the ground below. We saw oyster beds packed like tiles, and countless sea plants in great varieties of colour and form; crabs also, taking their lateral walks; polypi and anemones of brilliant hues, and fish pursuing their prey among the plants. The summer skies of the Baltic enchanted me more than those of the Mediterranean, for I had still much of the poetical element in my composition. Elsinore, with its memories of Hamlet; Copenhagen, with its islands and floating batteries recalling Nelson; the beautiful landlocked bays of Sweden, into which we ran when the storms began to rage; the short and almost nominal nights; the magnificent sunrises; the passing through the Russian fleet; the tranquil sail up the Gulf of Finland; Cronstadt, with its even then prodigious batteries; then the Neva, up to the magnificent quays of St Petersburg, glowing with its metal domes and spires: all these scenes worked on my youthful imagination like enchantment. The Russian people might not be very cleanly, the officials might require a good deal of bribing before the ships could get on smoothly; but the summer climate, with its changing hues, was fascinating.

When, at a later period of life, I opened Comte de Maistre's *Soirées de St Petersburg*, his description of his own fascination with the summer evenings on the banks of the Neva awoke a chord of memory unspeakably pleasant. Yet I was then but a cabin boy with my thoughts buried under a tarry cap.

On returning to London, I made acquaintance with my relatives, who were very kind to me, and on alternate Sundays, when I had leave on shore, I went to Mass with them at the Chapel of Somers Town. They took me also, as a special treat, to St Mary's, Moorfields, recently completed, and looked upon at that time as a wonderful advancement in Catholic architecture. It is a fact to be avowed that when abroad I had never tried to go to Mass, and probably I should not have been permitted to go alone. Yet I always stuck to the confession of my Catholicity and was proud of it.

I had two narrow escapes of drowning in the Thames. Another lad, knowing I had a constitutional fear of dogs, set one upon me by way of a joke. I sprang from the bulwark of our own vessel to the loftier side of the next in the tier, calculating on catching on a moulding with my fingers, and so scrambling on board; but forgot at the moment that her sides had been newly tarred and varnished, so down I slipped between the two ships and sank beneath them. I could not swim, but being perfectly calm and self-possessed I paddled myself up with hands and feet. Alarm was given, the men sprang out of the hold where they were at work, and one of them seized me by the head from the fore chains just as I emerged. It was considered a great escape, as few who sank in the tideway were ever saved. The other case was in running down the Thames with wind and tide, having to get on board from a boat that hung by its painter. I seized the chain plates and the boat went from under me. I could not swing myself up, and was too proud to call out; but a voice from another ship cried out: 'Captain Wrougham, that boy will be drowned there, under the main chains.' This brought a pair of hands down on my collar and a fair share of abuse on my person.

Being in the Thames after our second trip to Newcastle the skipper one day got very angry with me, owing to a

trifling mistake, and gave me a kick with his foot that wounded my pride to such a degree that I determined to abandon the ship. That night, accordingly, I packed up my bundle of linen, put on my best clothes, and sat all night in the cook-house on deck. I confided my secret to another youth, a respectable boy, who had been my schoolfellow, who faithfully kept it. About eleven some of our men came from the shore half tipsy, and one of them came into the cook-house for something he wanted; but as I sat low down on a bucket in the corner I escaped detection. About two o'clock in the morning I scrambled across the tier of ships in which we lay, got down into a lighter, and hailed a wherry at the landing. The man came and suspected me to be a runaway. We had a parley, and half a crown induced him to land me. I wandered about the streets of London, gradually working my way towards the West End; answered the policemen and patrols, who were suspicious of my bundle, in broad Yorkshire, as a simple country lad going to see my relations; received cautions in a kindly tone about not letting anyone carry my bundle, and in due time knocked at the door of one of my uncles, who heard my tale, gave me breakfast, and then took me to other relatives, three of whom agreed to drive me down again to the ship, and there have an interview with the captain. My appearance thus accompanied produced a great sensation. It was thought on board that I must have been drowned. The skipper was nonplussed and had very little to say, but referred my friends to the real captain, who lived at some distance. We went to Captain Wrougham, who, as usual, was very kind. He admitted the coarseness of the man in command, and proposed that I should go to my friends for the winter, and should rejoin the ship in the spring, when he hoped to resume command and enter once more on foreign trade. I enjoyed the spectacles of London for a time and then returned home. But our ship was at Scarborough before me. The other owners were dissatisfied with what the ship was doing and sent a special agent to bring her home. They agreed with my father to give up my indentures and I was free. Though always admired, the *Leghorn* was never prosperous; she was sold, and finally sank in the Bay of Genoa.

In vain did my parents try to persuade me to give up the sea. I had not much taste for ship work, nor did I like the rude society into which I was thrown; but I was fond of roaming to see the world, and was too proud to swallow the handspike.¹ I had seen schoolfellows jeered at for deserting a pursuit supposed to have perils in it and demanding a hardy disposition, and I believe that this opinion keeps many a youth at sea after he has had a sickening of it.

I spent the winter in studying the science of navigation under an old sea captain, who had Norrie's *Epitome* off by memory, the table of logarithms included. He was clever, and had some half-dozen pupils, much older than myself. It was a strange sort of school; the old man kept no servant, cooked his own food, sometimes got tipsy, and then there was a fencing match between him and one of the students with two-foot scales. I learnt to work a ship's way, to keep a log-book, and to take observations of the sun, which we did with our sextants in fine weather on Castle Hill.

In the spring I set sail once more. There was an excellent old couple of an old Catholic family residing at Scarborough, who had a brig called the *Anne's Resolution*. To this vessel, which was very inferior to the *Leghorn*, I was apprenticed for a short term, not altogether to my liking. I wanted to go in one of the Arctic discovery ships, or where I might see more adventures, but my father wished to sicken me of the sea. The captain was a good-natured man of ordinary abilities; the mate, who had been for a time at Stonyhurst and was full of Catholic faith, was a nephew of the owners, and bore their name. I had stipulated not to go again as cabin boy, but this threw me into the fore-castle, among a set of men and boys whose conversation was the vilest imaginable. This did not at all suit my taste, for I always kept a certain self-respect. But after a time the captain became indisposed, and required more attention than, with the present boy, he could get. He therefore asked me as a favour to act as cabin boy. This touched my feelings and I consented. It had the further advantage of taking me out of the fore-castle.

¹ I have not been able to trace this expression elsewhere. It is in the original draft.

There was another youth on board, older than myself, who was not only steady, but very anxious to improve himself. This led to a certain intimacy between us. But we got into one or two scrapes together. With my vivid imagination I was passionately fond of the theatre, but always kept away from low exhibitions. When in the London Docks, and we had leave on shore in the evening, I induced him more than once to accompany me to Covent Garden; and when the play was over we wandered through the streets until six in the morning, when the dock gates were opened, and then we slipped on board before all hands were called. One morning, however, the mate appeared on deck before we returned, which put an end to our theatrical enjoyments. In these nightly wanderings we made it a rule to keep to the main streets, to enter no place of refreshment, and speak to no one.

Whilst in the docks I got a severe scald through upsetting some burning fat on my right instep, and, it being neglected, gangrene appeared. The doctor who was called in declared that it was a hospital case and serious; I was therefore conveyed up to my Uncle Longstaff's, who then resided in the Polygon, Somers Town. Through the affectionate care of my aunt and the skill of the family doctor my foot was saved, and in due time I returned to the ship. I was one day engaged in tarring a cable, when I suddenly heard my father's voice from the quay saying: 'I see his eyes, but nothing else of him.' I looked up, and there I saw my father and uncle gazing at me. My father looked anything but contented, and coming on board said: 'Do you mean to say that you like this?' However, I held on until we got to Memel, and there I found my deliverance.

When Sunday morning came in the harbour, Mr Craythorne, the mate, said to me: 'William, let us go to Mass.' I fished up the *Garden of the Soul* from the bottom of my sea chest, and we set off through the flat town of Memel, with its numerous windmills for sawing timber, and its churches in the hands of the Lutherans, until beyond the town we reached a considerable wooden structure exteriorly not unlike a barn. There was a square yard of grass in front of it, surrounded by a low wall, and on one side of the walk to the door was a mound surmounted by a large wooden

figure on a Cross, round the front of which sat a number of aged and decrepit people singing and soliciting alms. The Mass had begun when we entered the chapel. The sanctuary was profusely decorated with flowers, and two banners were planted on the sanctuary rails, one of which, I recollect, represented St Michael the Archangel. I vividly remember the broad figure of the venerable priest and his large tonsure, which made me think him a Franciscan. The men knelt on the right side, the women on the left, all dressed very plainly and much alike. With their hands united and their eyes recollected, they were singing the Litany of Loretto to two or three simple notes, accompanied by an instrument like the sound of small bells. The moment I entered I was struck by the simple fervour of the scene: it threw me into a cold shiver; my heart was turned inward upon myself; I saw the claims of God upon me, and felt a deep reproach within my soul. When we came out I was again struck by the affectionate way in which the people saluted each other, as if they were all one family. Whatever money was in my pocket went into the poor-box, and when we got on board I asked Mr Craythorne what religious books he had with him. He produced an English translation of Marsollier's *Life of St Jane Frances Chantal*, and Gobinet's *Instruction of Youth*, which I read as leisure served. The venerable figure of St Francis de Sales and that of St Jane Frances Chantal introduced me to a new world, of which I had hitherto known nothing. A life filled with the sense of God and devoted to God was what I had never realized. Gobinet's *Instructions* again took me into my conscience.¹ Still there was much fancy in me, and I lived in a sort of rapture of the imagination until we reached London. I then wrote home and informed my parents that I wished to leave the sea and return

¹ In after-life he used to speak of the experience in the chapel at Memel as 'conversion' (*Letters*, p 527, cited below, ch. XXI); and it does seem to have been of the nature of the conversions so frequent a phenomenon in all forms of evangelical religion, but infrequent in Catholicism. We see the sudden awakening of conscience, the conviction of sin, the stimulating of the religious sense, the changed life. That Ullathorne went through such a conversion may be attributed to his boyhood having been without the Sacraments and careless in regard to religion, which hitherto had got no vital grip upon him. Marsollier's *St Jane Frances Chantal* exercised a lifelong influence over him (see below, *ibid*).

home. This was speedily arranged, and I was again employed in my father's business. My dear mother, however, unacquainted with the change that had taken place in me, wrote to me before I left the ship, expressing a hope that I should give no more trouble to them than the rest of the family. I cannot remember how it was, but though there was then a young priest resident at Scarborough to whom I went, and under whom, at his request, I resumed the catechism, I did not at that time make my first Communion. I took evening lessons in French, with Mr Pexton, already named, and in walks with him he interested me in college life and studies; and I renewed my old habit of general reading. But in the midst of this course of life we happened to receive a visit from a linen manufacturer of Knaresborough, who had a son studying for the Church at the Benedictine Priory of Downside. He took a fancy to my brother James, who had a fine boy's voice and was a principal singer at the chapel. He pressed him to go to Downside as a church student, and spoke warmly about it to my parents. But my brother did not feel the attraction. Whereupon I acknowledged how much I should like it, and made known the altered state of my mind. My father wrote at once to Fr Barber, the prior, and the matter was settled to my great delight. As Downside is near Bath, I preferred going by London on board a packet sloop. But whilst anchored at the mouth of the Thames we were caught in a severe January gale, and had to cut and run with about fifty sail more—of whom one, a Dutchman, went down—and got safe into Harwich, where, in consequence of floating ice in the Thames, I did not delay, but went on by coach, and arrived at Downside in the beginning of February, 1823, being nearly seventeen years old.

The college, as well as priory, was then packed in the old mansion, with considerable contrivance; but the new college and chapel were in course of preparation. I made the twentieth boy in the school. The first thing that struck me was the good feeling and piety which prevailed among the boys, and the kindly relations which existed between them and their masters. The whole tone of things was in great contrast to all I had ever known, and threw a light into my mind as to the practical bearing of the Catholic religion.

The next thing that struck me was the absence of worldly knowledge and experience in the superiors, as well as in the monks, who nevertheless by their great dignity, piety, and kindness, at once attracted my reverence and veneration. It revealed to me a world in utter contrast to the world I had known before.

One who remembered young Ullathorne's arrival at Downside said: 'He was undoubtedly a somewhat rough specimen when he came to Downside. He wore a blue tail-coat, with trousers a good deal too short for him, and speckled stockings. I do not think he took much part in games.'¹ These impressions are borne out by the portrait of him just at this time, reproduced from a set of miniatures of the family, now at Oscott (Frontispiece). The *Autobiography* goes on:

Arrived at St Gregory's, Downside, my life underwent a total and very earnest change. In these days it will scarcely be believed that until I went to St Gregory's I had never been present at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, or heard the Litany sung, except at Memel, but it now came with great sweetness to my soul. Such devotions in those days were chiefly limited to the few existing colleges and convents. Fr Polding, afterwards the first Archbishop of Sydney, was our prefect and our director, and in him I found all that my soul needed. To him I made my general confession, and he kept me long in training, for it was not until Christmas night, 1823, ten months after my arrival, that I made my first Communion.

The earliest of Ullathorne's innumerable letters is the one, dated January 7, 1824, in which he tells his parents of his first Communion:

I had the inexpressible happiness of approaching Holy Communion for the first time on Christmas Day, and promised now to begin in earnest and serve God with all my heart, which, indeed, is a very poor return for all the mercies and blessings which He has vouchsafed to grant to such an unworthy being as myself. And now, my dear parents, I feel as if I were entering on a new being, so much happier am I than during my former course of life. . . . Much yet remains to be done; and now I humbly and sincerely, and from my heart, ask your pardon for all the uneasiness, troubles, and

¹ *Downside Review*, 1889, p. 137.

disquietudes which I have caused you, which I hope you will grant through the love you bear our Blessed Lord, and through the goodness of your own hearts. I must also ask pardon of my brothers, for all the scandal which I have given them, when I ought to have set them a good example.

I had now two things to look after, my studies and my soul, and in both had everything to make up; for I had never understood before, either in what real study consisted, or how the soul could be advanced towards divine things. I began the first with the Latin grammar and elementary books. I soon began other languages, for which I had a natural facility, and my private time was mainly given to history.

I was pushed up much too rapidly through the school, and consequently did not get my fair share of scholarship, even as it was then understood in our colleges. I got no Greek, but picked up the rudiments later on in teaching a class of beginners. I was passed on from class to class at each bi-monthly examination, so that in the course of twelve months I had gone through all the classes and stood by the side of those who had been studying for six or seven years. But I have always regretted this rapidity, which was beyond my own control; for though I have read most things privately, I have knowledge without due scholarship.

On the following Feast of the Epiphany, I became a postulant together with four fellow students. But the postulancy was managed in a peculiar way. We still remained in the school and its dormitory as usual, but were called up at five instead of six to attend matins and lauds, and meditation with the monks in choir. This was the only thing that distinguished us from the other lay students. We received the religious habit on March 12, 1824, little more than a year after I had entered the school. We were set to scour the floor of the novitiate as our first exercise.

Our novice-master, Fr Polding, was a man of warm and tender heart, with true religious instincts, who formed our souls to detachment and the spirit of the Benedictine Rule with unction and genuine solicitude. We were devotedly attached to him and affectionately united with each other.

Whilst still in the school as a lay student, I had taken the *Spiritual Combat* as a textbook, and had made it a special

study, applying its principles as well as its exposition of the soul's faculties and their use to my own case, and finding more systematic help in it than in any other book. And I have never ceased to recommend it as the most valuable of books for postulants when used as a textbook: not only because it is so clear on the difference between the Spirit of God in man and the spirit of the world, but also for the help it affords to self-knowledge and self-conquest. It is exactly the book to lay the foundation on which to place the religious rule. To this book of principles were added the Lives of the Saints, and especially of the Fathers of the Desert, in whom the spiritual combat was most completely illustrated.

To return to the novitiate. Our work was not all study, manual labour was sometimes added in the old Benedictine spirit; and there can be no doubt that the man who can handle a spade, or do some mechanical work, will have more practical sense than he who can only handle books, not to speak of this veritable association with our poorer brethren. What took most hold of me, as an idea at least, was the whole doctrine of Christian and religious humility; and the example of the Fathers of the Desert had a still greater charm, at least for my imagination. This, however, introduced a disturbing influence, which set me a-day-dreaming, and so unsettled me. Abbot de Rancé's book on *Monastic Life*, his life and the four volumes recording the lives and deaths of the first members of his reformed monastery, took hold of me and linked themselves in my mind with St Bernard, whom I had taken as my patron Saint, and with his reform of the Benedictine Order. All this combined with the impression made on me by the Lives of the Fathers in the Desert, as drawn up by Bishop Challoner, had become to me what *Robinson Crusoe* had been to my childhood—a grand, romantic, spiritual ideal, to be somehow realized and acted upon. I earnestly entreated my superiors to allow me to go to La Trappe, there to live a penitential life, buried from and forgotten by the world. A visit from Mr. Walmesley, an English gentleman, skilled in medicine, who was a lay brother of that monastery, only increased my desire. My superiors tried to divert me from it, yet in the kindest and most considerate way.

Yet the notion acted upon me in a way that for a time overpowered my fondness for intellectual pursuits, for which I more than once got a smart rebuke. When it came to the question of profession, I opened my mind anew to the novice-master on the subject. He asked my leave to consult with the prior. The result of their conference was to express to me their sincere apprehension of there being something of imagination in what I contemplated, and their fear that if I went to La Trappe I should most likely fail, in which case I should probably lose my vocation and return to the world. I was therefore advised to make my profession as an English Benedictine, upon the understanding that, if after a period of two years I was still of the same mind, putting aside the thought in the interval, they would offer no further objections to my going to La Trappe. On this advice I acted; nor did I doubt, in later years, as I have known in similar instances, that all was a delusion. It left me, however, a valuable experience for the future guidance of souls.

Our novitiate was a happy one; our numbers had been doubled during its course, and, isolated as we were from the professed community, on whom we looked with great respect, as well as from the school, we were closely united with each other. Four of us who had entered the novitiate together made our profession on Easter Tuesday, April 9, 1825. Fr Polding still continued in the office of novice-master, and we, as junior professed, remained under his paternal care. He still directed our studies, and under him we studied rhetoric, logic, and mental philosophy. During the year of rhetoric our textbooks were Cicero *de Oratore* and a manuscript by Eustace, the author of the *Classical Tour in Italy*, who was first a student and then professor of the priory when at Douai, though never a monk; Quintilian and parts of Longinus; whilst for private reading we had Blair, Rollin on *Sacred Eloquence*, and Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. But for my part I read everything the library could produce.

About this time I took up St Augustine's *Confessions* as a spiritual manual, which, next to the sacred Scriptures, is the book of greatest profundity, whether as regards the knowledge of God or of the divine operations in the human

soul; no book ever opened my intelligence so much by setting before me the principles upon which human life should move. It is a book for the heart quite as much as for the mind, and reveals to us the divine operations of grace in its conflicts with nature with wonderful clearness. There is much truth in the remark that St Augustine formed the religious intellect of Europe. In the original draft is added: But in his *Confessions* he brings his illuminated intellect so completely into the region of his heart, and reveals that large heart, and the operations of grace and nature within it, with such utter unreserve, and such a total absence of disguise, that one's whole soul is drawn towards God through the heart and intellect of Augustine. Well might he say in his *Retractions* that his *Confessions* always praise God.

From rhetoric we passed to logic. Our textbooks were Watts and the *Port Royal Logic*, after which we took up the scholastic logic in another manuscript treatise by Eustace. Here I found a study completely to my taste, for few things have fascinated me more than the analysis of mental operations and the study of the mental and moral faculties. I therefore found myself in a field of predilection when we passed to the study of mental and moral philosophy. Fr Polding¹ was not himself a very deep or persistent thinker, but with the use of his books he made the study attractive. We were grounded upon the Scotch philosophy of that day, using Reid as our principal class-book, and in the main it was as safe a guide up to a certain point as we could then have had; and considering the times, we had a very fair course. After thus interesting us in philosophic thought, especially in the beautiful style of Reid and Beattie, Fr Polding passed us on to the Catholic philosophy. All the chief systems were analysed excepting those of Germany, which, at that time, were scarcely known in England. We were then set to analyse Hume, Berkeley, Locke, and Hartley, and to write essays upon them. Then we were introduced to natural religion, which brought me into contact with the *Pensées de Pascal*, Paley, and the large works of Bergier and Bishop Butler. In private time I analysed and annotated

¹ These two sentences are given as in the original draft. They give manifestly a truer picture than that of the published *Autobiography*.

most of these books on paper, and, which I afterwards regretted, burned a great pile of these papers before going to Australia.

Nor was the study of the Scriptures neglected. These occupied the Sundays, festivals, and an hour each evening. Besides the Prolegomena, we studied the Psalms, with the help of Menochius, Bossuet, and South, and after studying one day, wrote notes the next. We committed the Gospels of the Sundays to memory, and afterwards all the Epistles of St Paul, except the one to the Hebrews, and studied a commentary on them.

Br Bernard was familiarly known among his companions as 'Old Plato'. He goes on: I believe I was more or less a puzzle to superiors as well as to brethren, and was left to do much after my own way. Thus I got into a habit of constant reading with very little relaxation; and excessive reading overlays solid mental, as well as moral, discipline. I read far into the night, beyond the time for extinguishing lights—he used to lie on the floor, concealing the light in a foot-pan¹—and consequently I was often found wanting in choir when matins had begun. Nor was this noticed, as it ought to have been, until at last I went to the prior, acknowledged my fault, and offered to submit to whatever correction he thought best. After which I received a public rebuke.

In the beginning of the year 1828 we began our course of theology. Here, at last, I found a teacher who really taught systematically, and not only with method, but with considerable preparation and from an extensive accumulation of knowledge. I have always said that Dr Brown, later Bishop of Newport and Menevia, was the only person from whose living voice I ever learnt much. All else was acquired chiefly through books. But here I found a teacher who spoke from the digested stores of his mind.

The study of the tract on 'Religion and its Evidences' led me into a wide course of reading, and into the whole controversy with the philosophers of France and of England. The study of the divine Attributes and of the Holy Trinity elevated the mind and laid the deep foundation of all theology. I found it to be the most spiritual of all spiritual

¹ I have heard him describe this.

reading. I may mention, as an instance of my method of work, that at a certain stage the professor placed in my hands the well-known treatise by Dr Clarke on the divine Attributes. But with all its clearness, I found a link wanting in the argument where the transition occurs between material and spiritual existence. I referred it to the professor, who was equally perplexed. I then beat about until at last I found a hint, in the *Dictionnaire Théologique* of Bergier, that Clarke had drawn his whole argument from Tertullian. Referring to that deep thinker I found the link that was wanting in his book *Contra Hermogenem*. The science of the Incarnation gave a unity and depth to the sacred Scriptures such as I could not have understood before; whilst the heresies through which that science obtained its wonderful development and accuracy completely explained the good which God brings out of the conflict between light and darkness. The previous learning of St Paul's Epistles was a good preparation for the treatise on Grace, for which we had an excellent textbook abridged from Tournely. But I also read some of St Augustine's treatises against the Pelagians, which were chiefly enucleations of St Paul, whose Epistles after that became a new book to me.

I long endeavoured to form to my mind a map of theological science in its order and logical sequence, getting the first start from the preface of Petavius, and so proceeding with time and study. For out of this intrinsic view of the whole system of theology there appears to me to arise one of the sublimest demonstrations of religion, a demonstration that well deserves a book to itself. During these studies, the late Father Dullard, who, with permission of the Holy See, had passed from the Franciscan to the Benedictine Order, left in my cell for safe custody copies of the best editions of St Augustine, Tertullian, St Bernard, and Bossuet. This¹ led me through the pages of all the principal works of Bossuet as well as his sermons, one of the greatest intellectual expansions I had ever experienced. I also read several treatises of Augustine, Tertullian, and St Bernard, and from that time the Fathers of the Church were open to me as an inexhaustible mine of spiritual gold. I wondered why

¹ Original draft.

people talked about them so much and read them so little. Another book, the study of which formed a real epoch in the history of my mind, was a collection of the works attributed to St Denys the Areopagite, which I read when a deacon at Ampleforth. Here I found theology in its purest form divested of controversy, and written as if by a spirit with a pen of light; explaining also, with wonderful lucidity, both the celestial and the ecclesiastical hierarchies. These works I followed up with the Apostolical Constitutions, which exhibit the early discipline of the Church in full detail.

I have thus recorded the great landmarks of my reading as a student, whilst regretting that the want of earlier and higher scholarship has been an obstacle to the better use of reading all my life.

'Lucidity', it has to be said, would not be for most of us the outstanding quality of 'Dionysius'. But it is remarkable that at that date young Ullathorne should have thought of these writings as 'the works attributed to St Denys'; he uses the same designation in the Preface to the volume of Sermons issued in 1842, and it was a surprise to him to find that Abbot Guéranger maintained their authenticity.¹ For such critical historical sense he was no doubt beholden to his master Fr Brown, himself formed in sound patristic methods by Dom Leveaux, the last of the Maurists, who made his home in exile with the community of St Gregory's.

Ullathorne was throughout life an assiduous reader of the ecclesiastical writers, above all of the Fathers, and this began with his earliest days. In the sermon at his funeral Bishop Hedley said: 'Those who remember Bishop Ullathorne in his youth recall the figure of a student bowed over the folio of a Father of the Church. He read Augustine and Origen, Ambrose and Tertullian, Chrysostom and his own St Bernard.' This is borne out by the General Preface to the Sermons of 1842. It contains a series of appreciations of the principal Fathers, based manifestly on personal knowledge and study: SS. Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Ephrem Syrus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Bernard,

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 123.

Bonaventure, are passed in review in a manner that shows that their principal writings had been carefully read and were familiarly known—the Greek Fathers only in Latin, for Ullathorne never made up the deficiency of Greek in his early schooling. The great treatises of Augustine stand out as thoroughly known. In Australia he had little opportunity for reading; but the four voyages between England and Australia, twice out and twice back, had occupied close on two years, and we know that he read assiduously during them. But the seeds of it all were sown, and much of the reading was done, during those early years of formation at Downside. I myself remember his telling us that while at Downside his practice was to read and analyse two or three folio pages of Fathers daily, and it is on record that Dr Brown, his master, did the same. As in later life he was a widely read patristic scholar, in the sense of possessing a first-hand knowledge of the writings of the Fathers, it seems right to indicate these beginnings of what was to be a lifelong study and love.

In 1828 he received the subdiaconate and in 1830 the diaconate. This was the time of the contest between Bishop Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, in which was Downside, and the Benedictines, first at Downside, and then at Ampleforth, in Yorkshire. The general story has been told by the late Bishop Ward in his *Sequel of Catholic Emancipation*,¹ and the story, so far as Downside was concerned, by myself in the centenary number of the *Downside Review* (June 1914); so that there is no need to introduce it here. Suffice it to say that, in order to assist in meeting the crisis created at Ampleforth, Br Ullathorne and a fellow deacon were sent there early in 1831 to help the residue of the community in carrying on. Ullathorne was placed in charge of the boys in the school; he gives an account how he quelled some initial insubordination; but his companion from Downside used in old age to say that he had little idea of managing boys, and I am told that the tradition at Ampleforth is that he was a failure as prefect over the boys. The witness whose recollections of Ullathorne in the early days have been cited tells the same sort of tale: 'When he was

¹ I, chs. II, III.

prefect he had almost always a book in his hand. I fancy the office of prefect was very distasteful to him, and certainly the boys were not in sympathy with him. I remember that on one occasion, whilst he was walking up and down the study room, the boys blew out all the candles. It was not to be wondered that one so engrossed in books as he was should have felt the position which he then held very distasteful to him.¹ It seems that we have here another illustration of the not infrequent fact that a good ruler of men has not the gifts that make a good ruler of boys.

Ullathorne's situation at Ampleforth was a delicate and difficult one, and a letter of 1832, of Fr Brown of Downside, reveals the fact that strained relations had developed between Ullathorne and the Prior of Ampleforth: 'Though Mr Towers has been very dissatisfied with him, yet there is much said by Ullathorne in his own defence.'² In the original draft of the *Autobiography* he tells how in consequence of the differences with the prior, he received from the President of the English Benedictines a short peremptory instruction to repair back to his own monastery *recto tramite*—by the shortest road. This was at the end of 1831. He had been ordained priest at Ushaw in the September of that year. Returned to Downside, he was set to teach in the school attached to the monastery.

¹ *Downside Review*, 1889, p. 138.

² Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, I, 81.

CHAPTER II

THE AUSTRALIAN MISSION

(1832—1836)

ALTHOUGH the island of the Mauritius, situated in the Indian Ocean 550 miles east of Madagascar, had been ceded by France to Great Britain in 1810, it remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris up to 1819. In response to remonstrances made by the British Government to the Holy See against the perpetuation of this state of affairs, in 1819 the English Benedictine Fr Slater, of St Lawrence's monastery, Ampleforth, who had just been appointed Vicar Apostolic, with episcopal status, for the Cape of Good Hope and Madagascar, had his sphere of jurisdiction extended so as to embrace also the Mauritius 'and its dependencies'. These dependencies were the entire continent of Australia with Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), New Zealand, and the South Sea Islands. Bishop Slater died in 1831, and in his place was appointed, as Bishop of Mauritius and the rest, Fr William Placid Morris, a monk of Downside, then stationed in London. He was consecrated in February 1832.

In the *Autobiography* Dr Ullathorne thus relates how he came to volunteer for the Australian Mission :

Bishop Morris naturally wished to obtain co-operators from the house of his profession, and accordingly made application to the superiors of Downside. In reply to his application he was told that if I were asked I should probably not be unwilling to go. This impression was, I believe, derived from an incident which took place several years before that time. I had been suffering for some two years from an acute inflammation of the liver, combined with sharp and continuous attacks of ague. I was going with other young religious, in company with Fr Polding, in a postchaise, to Bath, to consult a physician, when Fr Polding began to talk

of the great want of missionaries in Australia; he spoke of the sufferings of the convicts, and observed that there was not such a field in the wide world for missionary labour. He gave his own ideas as to the way in which such a mission should be managed, expressed his attraction for it, and asked us which of us would be ready to join him. I at once declared myself ready to do so.¹ This conversation had evidently been laid up in Fr Polding's mind, and had led to the mentioning of my name to Dr Morris. When, therefore, Dr Morris wrote to me, I replied that I had about a hundred reasons *against* going to the Mauritius, and almost as many *for* going to Australia. Dr Morris replied that he equally required help for Australia, and asked me to go to New South Wales. I therefore submitted the question to my superiors. The prior at that time was Fr Turner, an old Douai monk, a truly meek and holy man, whilst Frs Polding and Brown filled the next offices. Fr Polding advised me to wait, thinking that the time for the Australian Mission was not yet mature. But the prior and Fr Brown advised me to write to the President, who gave me up to the jurisdiction of Bishop Morris for the Australian Mission.

I therefore proceeded to London. At that time I had no prospect of aid from the Colonial Government, but was going out at my own expense. . . . My first work was to form a library, for I knew that the books I should require could not be found in Australia. I therefore spent some months in the old book-shops and among their catalogues, and gathered together about a thousand volumes of theology, Fathers, canon law, and sacred literature, in every language of which I knew something. . . .

Meanwhile a despatch had come from the Governor of New South Wales to the Secretary for the Colonies, which changed my position altogether. His Excellency represented to the Secretary of State that there was no authorized head of the Catholic clergy in that Colony, that difficulties had consequently arisen between the Government and the senior priest respecting grants of land, and that it was desirable to

¹ Forty years later, writing to Archbishop Polding, he describes the impression made on him as a novice by his master's conversations: 'It was in those conferences that the thirst of your own heart became known to us—that thirst to see the then neglected missions of Wales and of Australia worked by self-denying men in an apostolic spirit. You pointed them out to us in those days as spiritually the most desolate fields in the whole of the British Dominions, and as loudly calling for religious missionaries. You pictured such missionaries to us as trudging from place to place like St Paul, and carrying in a pack on the back whatever was needful for the Sacrifice and the Sacraments' (*Pioneers*, II, 387).

obtain the appointment of a Catholic ecclesiastic invested with due authority. Bishop Morris was in consequence invited to an interview at the Colonial Office, and he informed the Secretary of State that he had an ecclesiastic in view, whom he could appoint as his Vicar General for Australia, with residence in Sydney, who would have all the authority required. This was agreed to, and a stipend was assigned by the Government of £200 a year, an allowance of £1 a day when travelling on duty, and for voyage and outfit, £150. The title assigned to me by Government in documents, beyond that of Vicar General, was that of His Majesty's Catholic Chaplain in New South Wales. I also received a letter from the Colonial Secretary, recommending me to the Governor of the Australian Colonies.

A hitch appears to have occurred at the last moment, the President of the English Benedictines being disposed to withdraw the consent he had given. For on Fr Ullathorne writing to him, on the last day of August, acquainting him with the changed nature of his position, that he was to go out as Bishop Morris's Vicar General for Australia and as the recognized Government Catholic chaplain, and asking for an official dimissorial letter, saying his cabin was engaged on a vessel to sail on September 6, he received a letter from the President that seemed to unsettle the whole business. On September 5 he wrote:

Your letter has placed me in a most critical situation, and has thrown my mind into a feverous state of anxiety. [He sets forth the reasons forbidding this eleventh hour reversal of what had been done. He goes on] I am not, it is true, the best qualified person for such a situation. But no one else offered: zeal I have for that mission, my heart yearns for the religious happiness of the colony of N.S. Wales. I do not think the situation one of honour, but of labour, of trial, of never ceasing toil. I relied not on myself, I trust, but on the strength of God's grace, which abandons not those who have given up all for God and the good of their fellow creatures.¹

All is well that ends well, and he finally sailed on September 16, 1832, having entered on his twenty-seventh year.

¹ The many early letters are preserved in the Downside archives: they are reproduced in Dom Birt's *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia* (1911), I, 153 ff.

The account of the voyage is reproduced only in so far as it illustrates his personal history :

I sailed in the *Sir Thomas Munro*. A large ship is a very different thing from the brigs in which I had sailed as a boy ; and I was no longer a cabin boy, but a priest with a title expressive of responsible office. I had a good-sized cabin which enabled me to enjoy retirement at any time. Although solitary as a Catholic, and unable to say Mass as a priest, and although I had but little in common with those around me, I never felt these long voyages tedious. I enjoyed the quiet and the absence of solicitude, and the retirement of my cabin, that floating hermit's cell. From my boyhood I had a good deal of the hermit in my composition, preferring to be alone, and having no attraction for society beyond the sense of duty. My attraction was to books and my own solitary musings. And though for many years I had the credit of putting out a good deal of practical energy, that was when duty called, and no longer. Archbishop Polding used to say, and with truth, that I required some exciting cause, or some difficulty to surmount, to draw out the sleeping energies within me. I never felt the disposition to take in hand the future before the present, and was thus saved from many useless solicitudes which torment the imagination. Experience has taught me that things do not occur as the imagination is apt to paint them by anticipation, and that by tormenting yourself with anticipations of events in which you are to be engaged you only jaundice your eyes and warp your judgement.

I had a sailor's heart for the poor fellows who manned the ship, and though I never spoke to them but a word or so on occasion, they seemed to know it by instinct, and always showed me particular respect. I fancy they liked to see the sturdy way in which I walked the deck in all weathers, and that independence of circumstances which came of the monk grafted on the sailor. Except the privation, therefore, of the Mass and the church services, I was always inclined to regret when the voyages came to an end, and the quiet and retirement that they afforded me. They were a sort of prolonged retreat, uniting a course of spiritual with a course of ecclesiastical study, by which I in some degree made up for my abridged course before ordination.

Feeling my deficiency in ecclesiastical law, I made it a point of special study, and directed special attention to what concerned the authority and jurisdiction of a Vicar General. For, by my deed of appointment, this extended over the whole of Australia, Van Diemen's Land alone excepted,

which was left to the only priest then in that colony. I knew that I should be some four thousand miles away from my bishop, with whom the means of communication would be rare and casual. Even the consecrated oils for the Sacraments were received from London, much after date, and there was the whole breadth of the world between these colonies and the Holy See. I felt, then, that I should have to act almost as if the complete authority of the Church were concentrated in my office, and to rely on my own resources.

They called at the Cape and at Hobart Town in Van Diemen's Land, and finally arrived at Sydney on February 18, 1833, after a five months' voyage.

It would not be to the purpose to sketch the history of the Catholic Church in Australia up to this point. The general story—and it is full of incident and romance—has been well and amply told by a number of writers.¹ Ullathorne's work in Australia falls naturally into two parts: first, his ordinary work as Vicar General in organizing and developing the Catholic Church, in securing the recognition of the rights and the status of the Catholics, and in ministering to the free Catholic population; and second, his very special work among and for the convicts. The whole subject of the convicts, wherein lay the most unique and the greatest religious achievement of his whole life, will be held over for a separate chapter (IV). In this chapter and the following will be unfolded the story only of the work among the normal Catholic community.

An account must be given of the condition of things Catholic existing when he landed in February 1833. Judge Therry thus depicts what he had found four years earlier: ²

With a very few exceptions, the Roman Catholic community in 1829 was essentially an Irish one. At the time of my arrival, there were not scattered through the whole

¹ May be mentioned: Dean Kenny, *History of the Commencement and Progress of Catholicity in Australia* (1886); Cardinal Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia* (1897); Judge Therry, *Reminiscences of New South Wales* (1863); Don Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, I (1911); and, best of all, Rev. Eris M. O'Brien, *The Life and Letters of Archpriest Therry* (1922). For the earliest period the main source of all these is Ullathorne's own *Reply to Judge Burton* (1840); besides this there is his *Report to Propaganda*, printed in Italian (1837).

² *Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in New South Wales*, p. 145.

Colony half a dozen families of that religious denomination belonging to the class of gentry. [It is recorded that Mrs Therry's was the first bonnet ever seen at Mass in Sydney.] Many of them were the exiles of 1798. Their attachment to their native land, after the lapse of thirty years, was as ardent as on the last day they left it. Though some returned to it, the majority made the land of their exile that of their permanent abode. Besides these exiles, there were many who had been transported for agrarian disturbances during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and under the Insurrection Act and other coercive measures, which made it a transportable offence for a man to be out of his house after sunset. For many years this may be said to have been the ordinary condition of the people and state of the law in Ireland. That a large number of convicts from Ireland were deservedly sent out for outrages that merited transportation cannot be doubted; but it is not less true that very many were transported for the infringement of severe laws, some of which are not now in force, and for offences for which a few months' imprisonment would, at present, be deemed an adequate expiation. In a country where abundant means rewarded industrious habits, these men became prosperous, and the ready reward of honest pursuits worked a wondrous change for the better in their social condition. Thus there was a very considerable Roman Catholic population of this class in New South Wales, where in 1829 every office of importance was filled by members of other denominations, and where the Roman Catholic body may be said to have possessed but a small free element in its composition. This circumstance caused them to be looked down upon as a subordinate class. The disfavour with which that body was then regarded in England had been transferred to the Colony, and it was uphill work to gain—but it ultimately was gained [and, be it said, mainly through the initial efforts of Fr Ullathorne and Judge Therry himself]—a perfect equality in religious and social relations with the more favoured communities.

The population of the colony was made up of these elements:

Free, consisting of the following categories: government officials and military; colonists, or settlers, men with some capital, who came out to seek their fortune and received free grants of land in proportion to their capital; emigrants, being artisans, mechanics, agricultural labourers, who came out with their families under state-aided systems of emigration—

this began in 1825, and by 1836 there had been 45,000 such immigrants;¹ great numbers were from Ireland, and of course Catholics. The goldfields were not discovered till many years later.

Emancipists or 'expirees', convicts who had served out their sentences or had been liberated for steady good behaviour before the termination of the sentence; they received grants of land, or else plied trades or businesses in the towns.

Convicts, divided into the two categories of convicts pure and simple, and ticket-of-leave men.

The emancipists were an important portion of the population. Concerning them Judge Therry writes:²

The emancipists formed a large section of the community. In 1829 it had so increased as to constitute that section of the community the wealthiest in the land. Among them were the principal merchants of the city and the chief contractors with the Government and the commissariat department for the supply of provisions to the convicts. There was a humbler class among these emancipists, inferior in wealth to the former, but in general conduct equal and perhaps superior to it.

It has to be said, however, that the emancipists as a class had a bad name; often criminals to start with, nothing had been done for their reformation or improvement, and they only too often were more hardened in crime at the end of their sentence than at the beginning, and went to swell the criminal class in the cities.³ But with the Catholic emancipists it was otherwise: of them Ullathorne in 1836 bore the same testimony as Judge Therry thirty years later: 'They are Irish Catholics, of whom many, if I except those from the large cities, have been transported for the infringement of penal laws, for agrarian offences, and minor delinquencies; whilst those from England are, with rare exceptions, punished for direct aggression on property or the person.'⁴ And elsewhere: 'Fresh-hearted youths and small farmers, often sent in the Irish ships for small offences, marked beforehand, it

¹ Report of Parliamentary Commission, 1838 (see ch. IV).

² *Reminiscences*, p. 93.

³ See Report of Parliamentary Commission of 1838.

⁴ *Catholic Mission in Australasia*, p. 15; cited by Moran, p. 152.

might be, for some political cause, and how many of them for the famous Clare election.'¹ In his Report to Propaganda in 1842 Bishop Polding goes further, and declares that 'it is certain that during the years of religious intolerance a vast number of convicts were sent from Ireland to New South Wales under the pretence of various crimes, but in reality on account of their religion.'² These were high-minded men, who preserved themselves from contamination while working out their sentences, and by their good behaviour obtained their freedom at an early date and passed into the ranks of the emancipists. Conspicuous among such men was Mr William Davis, spoken of by both Ullathorne and Therry. He had been a blacksmith in Ireland, transported for making pikes for the insurgents in '98. On recovering his liberty and becoming an emancipist, he took up his trade again, when skilled workmen were few and horses were many, and the charge for shoeing a horse was fifteen to twenty shillings. He thus laid by a large sum of money, with which he speculated judiciously in land and amassed a large fortune, dying worth from twenty to thirty thousand pounds. He lived in Sydney in a simple way, universally respected, a pillar of the Catholic cause. He provided the Convent for the Sisters of Charity at Parramatta in 1839, and gave his house and garden in Sydney for the site of St Patrick's Church. Fr Ullathorne knew him well; he writes: 'Mr Davis was a truly religious man. . . . Twice he had been flogged for refusing to go to the Protestant service, and for the same refusal was so long imprisoned in a black hole that he almost lost his sight. How often have I heard the old grey-headed man of many sufferings exclaim, in his earnest simplicity: "I love the Church."'³ Judge Therry bears witness: 'Nor was this a solitary instance of remarkable success and generous conduct amongst the men of '98. I might easily

¹ *The Management of Criminals* (1866), p. 13. This was the election in 1828, when O'Connell was returned for County Clare while it was still illegal for a Catholic to sit in the House of Commons. It was accompanied with great popular enthusiasm and excitement, and was one of the determining factors in forcing Catholic emancipation.

² Cited by Moran, p. 231.

³ *Autobiography*, p. 167 (original draft); cf. Therry, *Reminiscences*, p. 94.

enumerate the names of quite a legion of these exiles, who became eminently prosperous in New South Wales, and whose children there are now the inheritors of large estates in land, and numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.'

The Catholic developments, like all the developments, were in the decade 1829 to 1839 enormously rapid—it was the period of transition from a penal settlement to a colony. In 1827 one of the principal Catholics had written: 'The Catholics are the poorest portion of our Australian community. There are not more than fifty immigrants [i.e., free settlers] among their number.'¹ At that date there were about 10,000 Catholics. Writing to Downside shortly after his arrival, Ullathorne estimates the total number of Catholics in Australia as at least 20,000²—they were at all times about one-third of the population.

Religiously their condition was one of shameful and callous neglect on the part of the Government. Transportation from Ireland began with the beginning of the penal settlement of Botany Bay in 1788; after 1798 the number of Catholic convicts became very considerable, and it went on increasing year by year, so that they kept always a third of the total number. Their religion was not recognized at all. Irish Catholics and Scotch Presbyterians alike were compelled to attend the Church of England service on Sundays, under the penalty of twenty-five lashes for the first offence, fifty for the second, and the chain-gang after that. At a later date attempts were made to deny this; but Fr Ullathorne's evidence (just cited) is backed by Bishop Polding's: 'I have taken by the hand the convict who had been scourged for his religion;'³ and by Judge Therry's⁴ and that of other irrefragable witnesses. The children of convicts were looked upon as belonging to the State, and were brought up as Protestants in State orphanages without regard to the wishes of the parents. In short, the Catholic convicts were subjected to a harsh and even bloody persecution. It will hardly be credited that until 1820 the Government, whether Home or Colonial, neither provided nor permitted Catholic chaplains. With the first transport ship from Ireland in 1791 a Catholic

¹ *Life of Archpriest Therry*, p. 97.

² Moran, p. 220; Birt, II, 4.

³ Moran, p. 135.

⁴ *Reminiscences*, p. 145.

priest volunteered to sail, and to stay out in permanence without salary, but was refused. In '98 three priests were transported for alleged complicity or sympathy with the Rising; of these, one received a permit in 1803 to minister to the Catholics, but it was withdrawn the next year. In 1817 a priest went out without Government licence or recognition; but after a few months he was imprisoned and deported home in the first returning vessel. Thus only during two years out of thirty was there any priest ministering to the religious needs of the Irish Catholic convicts, who in 1817 numbered 6,000. But the matter becoming public and calling forth strong protests in the House of Commons, at last, in 1819, two Catholic chaplains were appointed by the Government with salary of £100 a year. They arrived in Australia in 1820: one passed on to Van Diemen's Land, the other abode in New South Wales.

This latter priest, Fr John Joseph Therry, was a truly remarkable and apostolic man, who may fairly claim the title of Catholic Apostle of New South Wales. When he arrived, there were some 7,000 to 8,000 Catholics, and the convicts kept pouring in year by year. They were spread over an immense territory, being assigned as labourers and servants to the free settlers and farmers; and to this widely scattered flock Fr Therry ministered singlehanded from 1820 till 1826. The story of his labours during these years, and after, makes one of the most entrancing chapters in the missionary annals of the Church. The temptation to epitomize the story is great, but must be withstood, especially as full justice has been done to his memory in the fascinating *Life* recently published.¹ He had to contend not only with the difficulties of his ministry, having to ride often a hundred miles and more through trackless bush to a sick call, but also with the stiff persecuting spirit of successive Governors, high-minded men most of them, but bent on maintaining the Protestant ascendancy in the colony, and enforcing rigidly and with the utmost red tape the penal regulations in regard to religion, some of which (i.e., in regard to marriages) were declared by the Home Government to be quite illegal. In

¹ *Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry, Founder of the Catholic Church in Australia*, by Rev. Eris M. O'Brien, Sydney, 1922.

1826 Fr Therry came into collision with the Colonial Government, so that his position as chaplain was cancelled and his salary stopped; he was forbidden admittance to the hospital and gaol, even to minister to dying men. He went bravely on, protesting on each occasion against the injustice of such proceedings. His letters to the Governor and others are extremely able, and by his outspokenness and persistence he made himself a thorn in their side and incurred the definite hostility of the Government, being denounced as a dangerous man. In 1826 another chaplain came, superseding him, a delicate man, quite unfit for the work, who died in 1830. In 1831 came another, and in 1832 yet another, Fr John McEncroe, a fine priest and great figure in the Australian Church, both chaplains under Government. Thus Fr Ullathorne found three Catholic priests in Australia, and one in Van Diemen's Land, which latter, however, had not been placed under his jurisdiction as Vicar General.

It has to be recognized—freely, gladly—that Fr Therry was the one who had borne the brunt of the early struggles of the Catholic Church in Australia. What he had achieved in spite of overwhelming odds was immense. He had ministered with tireless zeal to the spiritual needs of the Catholics scattered far and wide; he had collected money from Catholics, and from Protestants too, for building a Catholic church in Sydney, and he had commenced and in great measure put up the shell of what was a noble church; he had formed the dispersed Catholics into a definite religious body, a flock; and he enjoyed deservedly the unbounded confidence, admiration, and love of those to whom he had so faithfully ministered.

And so when Ullathorne landed, things Catholic had already moved on a great stride. The Act of Catholic Emancipation of 1829 came into force in the Colony the following year, and made a radical difference in the legal status of the Catholics. As a result Ullathorne found two Catholic laymen holding high official position, men of character and ability, good practical Catholics, who both had been active lieutenants of O'Connell in the Emancipation campaign, and so identifying themselves with Catholic interests and movements, and ready to help on all occasions; these were Roger

Therry, friend of Canning and editor of his speeches, who had come out in 1829 as Commissioner in the Court of Requests, and became Attorney General and Judge in the Supreme Court; and John Hubert Plunkett, of the Fingall family, who came out in 1832 as Solicitor General, and in a short time became Attorney General. But most important of all was the presence of a Governor, General Sir Richard Bourke, a Peninsular veteran, nephew of Edmund Burke, who, though not a Catholic, had Catholic relatives and was altogether sympathetic with the Catholics and their needs and claims. Roger Therry and Ullathorne vie with one another in extolling the goodness, the friendliness, and the helpfulness of this Governor, and Ullathorne straightway was admitted to the most intimate relations with him. It was Governor Bourke's settled policy to bring about complete religious and educational equality for all religions in the Colony.

In these ways Ullathorne's path had been made smooth for him. But there were troubles in the Catholic body itself that had to be faced. As has been said, Fr Therry had been in 1826 suspended by the Government from the position of recognized chaplain, and two priests in succession had come out to replace him. Both were unsuited for the work and incompetent; and as Fr Therry continued his pastoral labours independently, quarrels arose between him and them, which were taken up by the congregation, the vast majority of whom naturally adhered to Fr Therry as their beloved priest and father in God. These differences came to a head on the question of the great church of St Mary's, the one commenced and half built by Fr Therry. The funds had run out, in large measure because subsequent Governors had failed to honour the promises of Government help made by Governor Macquarie in 1821. One section of the Catholics thought the design was too grandiose, and impossible of completion, and maintained the view that it would be more prudent and practical to abandon the half-built church and erect a less ambitious chapel adequate for the immediate needs of the Sydney Catholics. Fr Therry, on the other hand, had a bigger outlook and foresaw the time when the Catholics would be a large and important body—in three or four other places he got into the like straits over building

big churches; but subsequent generations of Australian Catholics had good reason to bless his imprudences, and when the bishop came in 1835 he found a handsome and dignified Cathedral ready for him; it was burned to the ground in 1865. The difference of view over St Mary's had grown so acute as to cause a rift in the Catholic body that might well have become a schism—it had even materialized in a large temporary chapel put up alongside of the shell of St Mary's.

Then there were troubles with the Government. The land granted in 1820 for Catholic purposes as site for St Mary's and the priest's house, with space for school and other parochial buildings, had not been legally made over; Governor Bourke was anxious to complete the transaction and called for the appointment of six lay trustees for the purpose; Fr Therry and his party refused to fall in with the proposals as to trustees made by the priest who was the official chaplain; and so the way was blocked.¹ Moreover, Fr Therry claimed that the grant had been considerably larger than the official documents seemed to show, and had actually built on land claimed by the Government. So acute was the situation that the Catholic Solicitor General had been instructed to prosecute Fr Therry. It was in these circumstances that Governor Bourke had written to the Home Government, representing that a Catholic priest should be sent out invested with ecclesiastical authority over the whole Catholic body, clergy and laity alike; and it was owing to this representation that Ullathorne came out not merely as another labourer in the Vineyard, but as the Vicar General of Bishop Morris, the Ordinary of Australia.

We may now allow him to tell the story of his arrival and of the manner in which he handled the problems that encountered him. It is to be found in full in the *Autobiography* and in Fr Birt's *Pioneers*, I, chs. V and VII.

I made it a point of policy not to send any previous notice of my coming to Sydney, where I arrived in the month of February 1833. I walked up straight to the priest's residence, and there I found a grave and experienced priest in Fr McEncroe. . . . From him I learned a good deal of how

¹ *Life of Fr Therry*, p. 157; cf. *infra*, p. 42.

things stood. Fr Therry had gone to Parramatta, but quickly hearing of the arrival of another priest, returned that evening. . . . I looked so youthful that the first language of Fr Therry, and even of his housekeeper, was naturally patronizing: but after dinner I produced the document appointing me Vicar General, with jurisdiction over the whole of New South Wales, as well as the rest of New Holland, after reading which Fr Therry immediately went on his knees. This act of obedience and submission gave me great relief. I felt that he was a truly religious man, and that half the difficulty was over.¹

This is Ullathorne's side of the episode: Therry's deserves also to be put on record—it is very touching. It is from a page of his diary at the time, reproduced in the Life.²

February 18th.—Started for Parramatta [from Sydney]; after spending the whole day in the performance of several duties was obliged to return [to Sydney] to perform others; heard of the arrival of another clergyman, the Rev. Mr Ullathorne, who came to the chapel house and remained to sleep.

19th.—Mass in St Joseph's chapel; performed two baptisms and two marriages. Receiv'd one person into the Church.

Fiat laudetur atque in aeternum superexaltetur Justissima altissima et amabilissima voluntas Dei in omnibus! Amen. (May the most just and highest and most lovable will of God in all things be praised and exalted above all for ever! Amen.)

Started for Parramatta to attend a sick person about 6 o'clock.

[At bottom of page, added at later date in firmer handwriting.]

February 18th, 1833.—Arrival of Very Rev. W. B. Ullathorne, Vicar General.

Ullathorne continues:

At Fr Therry's invitation I went with him that evening [18th] to the house of a gentleman, where I found myself in company with precisely the three persons with whom it was represented to me in England that I should find my difficulty. But, in fact, they were all very good men, and we became great friends. Still I was internally amused, for

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 65.

² P. 322; the extracts there given from Therry's Diaries are of extreme interest, as affording glimpses of that devoted lifelong work of forty-five years in Australia and Tasmania.

they evidently took me for a raw college youth; and I humoured the notion, and was told at a later time that after I had left they had talked of sending me to Bathurst, then the remotest part of the Colony.

The next morning as I came from Mass in the little chapel, Fr Therry met me and said: 'Sir, there are two parties among us, and I wish to put you in possession of my ideas on the subject.' I replied: 'No, Fr Therry, if you will pardon me, there are not two parties.' He warmed up, as his quick sensitive nature prompted, and replied, with his face in a glow: 'What can you know about it? You have only just arrived, and have had no experience.' 'Fr Therry,' I said, with gravity, 'listen to me. There *were* two parties yesterday; there are *none* to-day. They arose from the unfortunate want of some person endowed with ecclesiastical authority, which is now at an end. For the present, in New South Wales, I represent the Church, and those who gather not with me, scatter. So now there is an end of parties.'

It is necessary perhaps to say a word on the relations between the two men. They may be summed up in a sentence: Therry was a typical Irishman; Ullathorne a typical Englishman, as we shall hear Newman say in 1864. Therry was impulsive, sensitive, generous to a fault, in matters of business apt to be happy-go-lucky, and a fighter; Ullathorne was reserved, orderly, businesslike, masterful, a born organizer and ruler of men. Therry's biographer says that Ullathorne never made a friend of him, herein differing from Dr Polding, and misjudged him. Here I cannot but think he is suffering from the very common amiable failing of biographers, to be over-sensitive about their hero. Ullathorne's appreciation of Therry's sterling qualities was great and genuine, and expressed in many places;¹ and as for the shortcomings and failings he complains of, after all, Fr O'Brien in various places makes admissions amounting to nearly as much. Fr Therry's act of acceptance of the new situation was magnificent, heroic; but such great acts, whole-hearted as they are, are seldom the end of the matter, and the battle with self has still to be fought out. After all he had done, after being for twelve years, it may be said, the one priest of the Australian Catholics, after working for them

¹ The single passage that has any unpleasant flavour is in the private letter of April 17, 1833, the first Report to Bp Morris (*Pioneers*, I, 161).

day and night and fighting their battle single-handed, it was hard to flesh and blood to be superseded by a young man only twenty-seven years old, and of singularly youthful aspect even for that age: the portrait of 1842 (see p. 85), when he was thirty-six, still has an extraordinarily youthful and (be it said with all reverence) even 'perky' look. That Therry should think he 'knew better', and pronounce the newcomer's ideas 'absurd', was but human. Ullathorne's real estimate of him may be read in the words he wrote on hearing of his death in 1864:¹

What man has not his limitations and his deficiencies? We must of course admit those of our departed friend; but now is the time to recall, and thousands must have done so, how he really kept alive the faith, set the example of piety in his own person, forced on the authorities the religious freedom of the Catholic people, and even by his excess of zeal paved the way for that religious and civil status in which we now find the Catholic Church in the Australian Colonies. The boldness and confidence with which he raised the walls of St Mary's Cathedral, against all adverse predictions, was one of those conspicuous actions by which he strongly arrested attention upon the Catholic body, and fixed its position.

It was a trying moment for him when he found his position suddenly superseded by a young man, such as I was in 1833; but his faith made him obedient, and though in moments of excitement he was somewhat provoking, yet his feeling passed like an English April cloud, and it was soon fine weather again between us.

One thing was hard; but the circumstances made it necessary that Fr Therry should be moved from charge of the parish and church of St Mary's in Sydney. This was the Catholic headquarters, and had to be the residence of the Vicar General. Fr Therry was at first given a sort of roving commission throughout the Colony, and then was placed in charge of the parish next in importance to Sydney, that of Campbelltown. However, many of the Catholics resented it, and their dissatisfaction found vent in a pamphlet circulated in 1834: 'This is the man who has done so much for religion and who has been treated so unworthily.'²

¹ *Life of Fr Therry*, p. 287.

² Moran, pp. 110-14.

It should be said that Fr O'Brien in no way belittles Ullathorne's influence and work in Australia; on the contrary, he hails him as the man for the occasion: 'His temperament was particularly valuable for the situation that confronted him.'¹

And now we may watch Fr Ullathorne started on his course as Vicar General. The most immediate concerns were to come to an understanding with the Government, and to smooth over the division threatening among the Catholics themselves. He faced both issues with characteristic promptitude, ability, and success. On April 17, just two months after his arrival, he sent to Bishop Morris a full report of all that he had done, and the story is told also in the *Autobiography*.² The following account is based primarily on the former, as being written while the events were fresh in memory; but circumstances from the latter are here and there interwoven:

It seems as if a particular providence had brought me to Sydney entrusted with powers from your Lordship at this particular moment. I arrived at the very period when, in the judgement of all persons, Catholic and Protestant (for our affairs was a common topic), things had come to a crisis. A few days more must have brought the Catholics, long divided in sentiment, into angry collision with each other and with the Government. The immediate cause of division was the appointment of trustees for our church in Sydney, and the extent of ground attached to be granted by Government. This affair of appointing trustees has been in agitation for some years. Several nominations have been made by various persons, but none that met the approbation of all parties. The Rev. J. McEncroe had, a few weeks previous to my arrival, received a letter from the Government, complaining of this unprecedented delay; and requesting that he would call a meeting for the purpose of finally electing trustees, in whose name they might convey and secure the grant. Rev. J. Therry disagreed with Mr McEncroe as to the meeting, refused to co-operate with him, and Mr McEncroe dreading that nothing but scandal would ensue from the meeting, had remained in the greatest anxiety of mind, without rest night or day, till my arrival.

The Government was equally relieved by my arrival, they

¹ *Life of Fr Therry*, p. 160; cf. pp. 157, 159, 164, 167, 176.

² Letter to Bp Morris, *Pioneers*, I, 158-67; *Autobiography*, pp. 66, 70-72 (*Pioneers*, I, 204-6).

being on the very point of proceeding to law with Mr Therry for his encroachments on Crown property. Mr Therry laid claim to about two acres of land in Hyde Park where our Church is situated, more than was defined in the charts of the Surveyor General. It was very clear to almost all intelligent persons that he must have been flung in law, as by a late decision no grant is held legal except it be held by prescription of twenty years or by a sealed document, neither of which Mr. Therry is in possession of. There is every probability that, had Mr Therry persevered, he would not only have lost his cause, but would have irritated the authorities to the serious detriment of the Catholic cause in this Colony.

The day after arrival I went by coach to Parramatta, to see the Governor at his country residence. Sir Richard Bourke had recently lost his wife, to whom he was much attached, and was ill in bed. But he was anxious to have the Catholic affairs settled, and gave me an audience in his bedroom. He received me with great kindness, and we soon understood each other. I listened to his remarks, and then asked leave to see him again after I had inquired into the points of which he spoke. On the Sunday after my arrival, I announced my powers from the Altar, took the whole of affairs into my own hands, and promised as soon as I should have had time thoroughly to sift matters, to call a public meeting of the Catholics.

On my second visit to the Governor I asked his Excellency to allow me to arrange that instead of six lay trustees, as demanded, I might be allowed to have three clerical trustees of my own appointment, and three lay trustees to be selected by the congregation. This, I said, would secure three very respectable laymen, in whom everyone would confide, but if six laymen were required, it would lead to serious conflict. Sir Richard at once understood it, and consented. 'Anything reasonable', he said, 'for the sake of peace.' On the third Sunday after my arrival, having satisfied myself on the real state of things and ascertained the sentiments and feelings of all parties concerned; after offering the Holy Sacrifice, and giving a strong and somewhat vehement exhortation to unity and submission to authority, I held the meeting in the chapel, took the chair, with Mr Commissioner Therry as Secretary, and proposed my arrangement. I had two dangers to guard against: Cabal and intrigue in the election of trustees; and the ripping up old feuds and stories, which I was anxious should not be brought publicly before my notice, as the best means of their being buried for ever. I therefore impressed upon them that

they were not met to discuss, but to elect; and proposed that there should be appointed six trustees—three clerical and three laymen, the clergymen to be appointed by myself, the laymen to be freely elected from the congregation by themselves, except the servants of the Crown (convicts); that to prevent dissension and angry feeling they should not be nominated or proposed, but be chosen, at once, by ballot. I had now gained my point, they forgot their prepared speeches and long stories, and proceeded in silence and order to write the names of the individuals they would vote for on slips of paper, consigned them to the box, and the three most respectable and intelligent men of the congregation were thus elected: viz.—Mr Therry, Commissioner for Court of Requests, Mr Solicitor General Plunkett and Mr Murphy, the latter being a most respectable emancipist, who had been unjustly transported, and was now a wealthy man universally respected. The announcement spread universal satisfaction. Being now assured that no intrigue had been employed, I nominated, with myself, the Rev. J. J. Therry and the Rev. J. McEncroe as the clerical trustees. I now opened their mouths and we had a display of the warmest cordiality and unanimity.

We, the trustees, are now in treaty with Government for the extent of land to be granted us. I send your Lordship a copy of the memorial which I drew up for the Governor on the subject, to which nothing definite has, as yet, been answered. I think we shall probably obtain about four acres attached to the church, and a further grant somewhere near the town for a seminary.

Since the affair of appointing trustees, it gives me great happiness to inform your Lordship that all party and division has ceased in the Church. Clergymen and laymen, we are all cordially united. Nor do I again fear division. The people are tired of it, they have in general been reluctant spectators of the scandals it has caused. And, the authority I hold from your Lordship, the attention I receive from Government and from all persons, and the popularity which my efforts have procured me for the good of religion, would, were anyone so disposed, make any attempt at division abortive.

Besides the matter of securing the nomination of trustees for the church property at St Mary's, three principal questions had to be faced in the dealings with the Government:

1. To obtain monetary aid towards finishing St Mary's sufficiently to make it usable;

2. To provide Catholic schools;
3. To secure by law complete religious freedom and equality.

The first point was easily arranged with so sympathetic a Governor: at the second interview it was practically settled; the work went on, the church was opened for use on Christmas Day that same year, and was waiting, quite finished, to be the bishop's Cathedral on his arrival. Of it Fr Ullathorne wrote to Bishop Morris in the already cited report: 'It is really a solid noble building, the finest in the Colony, and more like the body of a cathedral or abbey church than of a chapel.'

With the second demand the Governor was no less sympathetic. On arrival Ullathorne found Catholic schools at Sydney, Parramatta, and Campbelltown, and he was able to establish six more before the coming of the bishop two years later; this, as he says in the report to Bishop Morris, was owing to Governor Bourke's sympathy with the cause of education and the help he gave.¹ Grants of land and aids of money were made, but an insuperable difficulty lay in the dearth of teachers. This difficulty was not fully surmounted for some years, until the Irish Christian Brothers took the work in hand in 1842.

Full religious equality and opportunity, and equal help from the State for all denominations, in proportion to their numbers and to their financial efforts, was the very keynote of Sir R. Bourke's policy, and in this he was fully supported by the Home Government, and principally by the Hon. E. G. Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, then Secretary for the Colonies. Governor Bourke, aided largely by Fr Ullathorne and by Messrs. Therry and Plunkett, achieved his purpose in 1836, so far as the law could do it, and for his action he was bitterly attacked in Australia by the Church party, and in England after his retirement, brought about in 1837. But the party of ascendancy carried on a rearguard action in Australia for many years, through the whole time of Ullathorne's stay there, and various turns of the struggle will come up for notice here, Ullathorne being on all occasions, by pen and voice, the protagonist of the Catholic cause.

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 162.

After six months in Sydney he reported progress to Bishop Morris :

My Lord : I take the opportunity of a vessel sailing to-morrow and the kind offer of the captain to a friend of mine to take charge of my letter, to acquaint your Lordship that things still go on in harmony and peace. I am extremely anxious to hear from your Lordship, and especially to receive an answer to my first letter. We are proceeding with the windows of our church in Sydney ; after they are finished we shall be able to use the building, though unfinished, for divine service. Since my last, by the ship *Enchantress*, I have succeeded in establishing two more schools in the interior, the one at Windsor, the other at Maitland. The Rev. Mr Therry has given up all design for the present of proceeding to Ireland. The petition signed by five thousand Catholics and Protestant colonists in favour of Mr Therry's reinstatement in his chaplaincy has been answered by the new Secretary, Mr Stanley, who not only refuses to comply with the petition but adds that he can hold out no prospect of Mr Therry's ever again receiving a stipend in N.S. Wales from Government. I have been shown another of Mr Stanley's letters in which he expresses his readiness to follow the example of his predecessor in office with regard to the Catholics of N.S. Wales, and that in supplying their wants he will be guided by the Legislative assembly of the Colony. The Governor has written for four clergymen, as he had promised. I have divided Mr Dowling's labours between Windsor and Parramatta, the distance between which is 25 miles. To enable him to meet the extra expense, I have procured him an extra allowance of £50 per annum until a priest can be provided for Parramatta, which is the largest town after Sydney, and contains many poor Catholics in and about it. The Rev. Mr Therry, who is very active and zealous, spends a great part of his time in traversing the remote parts of the interior. Mr McEncroe's labours are chiefly confined to Sydney, where there is much, very much, to be done. Since I last wrote to your Lordship I have found it necessary to publish a pamphlet in order to stop the violent anti-Catholic productions which have lately been published in an extremely insolent and arrogant tone. My little book was written in a few days, and sent to the press in parts as it was finished. It has been generally read, and has had the effect I intended. Mr Fulton has expressed his intention of throwing up his pen for the future. I have taken the liberty of transmitting a copy to your Lordship.

The allusion at the close of this letter is to the following episode. Ullathorne arrived at Sydney in the thick of a controversy between Mr Commissioner Therry and Archdeacon Broughton, the head of the Anglican Church, supported by Rev. Henry Fulton. The latter was a North of Ireland clergyman, transported for complicity in the '98—it is to be remembered that the Rising owed its initiation and chief leadership to the Protestants of the north—but soon liberated and made chaplain of a district. Therry had issued a Letter advocating that the Government should supply funds to all religious bodies alike for the building of churches and schools; and Fulton had in a tract raised his voice against this, on the ground that the Roman Church is idolatrous and Romanists are idolaters (1832). Ullathorne took up the cudgels and produced the first item of his lengthy bibliography: *A Few Words to the Rev. Henry Fulton and his Readers, with a Glance at the Archdeacon* (1833). He was, as will be seen throughout these pages, all his life a keen controversialist, wielding a weighty, incisive and effective pen on all occasions when he conceived that Catholic claims and principles should be asserted, or Catholic truth defended. So this, his literary firstling, deserves notice. I have not been able to trace a copy; but Mr Fulton's *Letter in Answer* (50 pp.) is at the British Museum, and from it we are able to form a fair idea of Ullathorne's maiden effort. Fulton evidently was a well-read and learned divine, but a 'Black Protestant' of the then usual Ulster type. The controversy was on the dignified and spacious scale in vogue in the 'thirties, with long extracts from Fathers and Councils and appeals to Church history; it ranged over the stock subjects of Romish idolatry, images, relics, transubstantiation, invocation of saints, indulgences. We can see that Ullathorne had cited Eusebius, Tertullian, Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus, Augustine; of course it is not certain that this was all the product of his own reading, and not culled from ready-made collections of Testimonia; but we know that he was a persevering and systematic reader of the Fathers. Concerning Ratramnus, he had insinuated that his adversary had not read him at first hand; this called forth the rebuke; 'I can assure you,

sir, whether you believe me or not, that I have read over the whole of Ratramn's book, in the original, before you were born, if your age is rightly reported to me, and I can tell you a little more of Ratramn than you seem to know.'

A year or two later Ullathorne again entered the lists with a pamphlet. The Anglicans and Protestant Dissenters had combined in support of a general scheme of undenominational education, on the basis of the use of the Scriptures as the reading book, without note or comment. This called forth the tract: *Observations on the Use and Abuse of the Sacred Scriptures as exhibited in the Discipline and Practice of the Protestant and Catholic Communions*, 1835;¹ reprinted in England during his stay in 1838 (70 pages). It is a telling piece of controversy, good to this day, explaining and defending the Catholic principle and practice in the use of the Scriptures, and exposing the inconsistencies of the Protestant principle of the open Bible as the sole Rule of Faith. 'It effected its object and the plan was dropped.'²

Such administrative and controversial work was carried on amid a round of exacting pastoral duties. He thus pictures them :³

Meanwhile, patient until the time appointed by the divine Providence to bring us that aid we so much needed, every effort was made to supply the place of numbers by activity. The writer has commenced his Easter Sunday at Windsor, by celebrating Mass, preaching, and attending the sick; then travelled twenty miles to Parramatta, again offered the Holy Sacrifice, preached, and visited the hospital; and, after another distance of fifteen miles, has concluded the public labours of the day in Sydney by a third sermon. The Rev. Mr Therry has said his Midnight Mass on Christmas Day in Sydney; his second at Liverpool, twenty miles distant; his third at Campbelltown, thirteen miles further beyond. And the other clergymen were not less active. Each remote district of the interior was repeatedly visited. Calls to visit the dying came to us sometimes from a distance of eighty miles, sometimes even further.

¹ 1834 is the date given in the *Bibliography*; but Ullathorne gives 1835 as date (*Pioneers*, I, 217).

² Report to the Holy See, 1837, *Pioneers*, I, 217.

³ *Catholic Mission in Australasia*, p. 11.

Elsewhere :¹

Wherever we went the Catholic innkeepers entertained us and our horses, and would never accept payment. When we reached a township, the first day was spent in riding round the country, visiting all the settlers, Protestant as well as Catholic, to ask leave for the convict servants to come to Mass and the Sacraments next day. A day or two's notice would collect together the Catholic population from a circumference of thirty miles. The whole of the next day was occupied with people coming and going, and perhaps a second day was required for Communions. The heat was often intense, and after riding round, both man and horse were exhausted.

At Sydney we did our outdoor work in gigs, as well to save time as on account of the heat. Besides the usual flock, forming a fourth of the population, we had to look after the prisoners' barracks, a huge gaol to which the convict men were sent on their first landing, and to which they were returned from every part of the Colony for punishment. We had also to attend the felons' gaol, where some forty executions took place yearly. We had to look after a large chain-gang upon an island in Sydney Cove. We had to visit a large convict hospital at Sydney; another at Parramatta, fifteen miles off; and another at Liverpool, at a distance of twenty miles. Again there was the Benevolent Asylum, a refuge for decayed people; for there was no Poor Law, nor was it needed in those days. Parramatta had to be served regularly from Sydney, and Liverpool from time to time. Fr McEncroe and I had to bear the brunt of this work.

Again :²

Another field of occupation was examining and signing the papers of the large convict population. No one could obtain his ticket-of-leave, or his free pardon, or leave to marry, or the privilege of having wife and children sent out at Government expense, unless the document he presented was signed by a clergyman of his communion. Then there were duties for the Vicar General as head of the department; duties and correspondence with the Colonial Office, with the Surveyor's Office, with the Treasury, and with the Military, as well as with the Convict Department.³ There were grants of land to be obtained for churches, schools, or presbyteries; payments to be arranged or certified for priests or school

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 79, 82 (sentence from *Catholic Mission*).

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

teachers; aid to be sought for new buildings; arrangements made for duties to the military, as well as to the convicts; favours to be solicited in exceptional cases that seemed to call for mercy; special journeys in Government services by land and sea, such as attending executions. I always found the heads of departments friendly and obliging.

About this time fell the visit to Norfolk Island, to be spoken of in ch. IV; also a visit to Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, made at the request of the priest stationed there alone since 1821.

Ullathorne from the first had felt the crying need of more priests, of nuns, of school teachers, but above all, of a bishop. On these needs Governor Bourke was wholly at one with him, and brought his best influence to bear in order to secure the financial aid that would make possible such developments, his great aim being in every way to promote religion, of whatever kind, in the Colony. For the bishop, Ullathorne fixed his eye on his old novice-master, Fr Polding, the one who had inspired in him the desire for the Australian Mission. In 1832 Fr Polding had been nominated as Vicar Apostolic of Madras, to have episcopal status; but at the last moment he begged off with such insistency that the appointment had been suspended; there is good reason for believing one of his motives to have been that for years his heart had been in the Australian Mission. Ullathorne now, in 1834, wrote to the authorities at Downside begging them to move in the matter at Rome, and to secure the creation of a separate Vicariate in Australia and the appointment of a bishop. On the side of the English Government, Mr Commissioner Therry had been in communication with Mr Edward Blount, of Mapledurham, a Catholic, and M.P. for Steyning, influential with the Liberal party, urging on him the need of more priests and of a bishop; and Governor Bourke wrote strongly in the same sense. Thus there was no difficulty in obtaining from the Home Government recognition for the new order of things and substantial financial assistance in the way of salaries and expenses. Bishop Bramston, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, was invited by the Holy See to nominate a bishop for Australia; he named Fr Polding, who on May 17, 1834, was appointed

Bishop of Hiero-Caesarea, *i.p.i.*, and Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land (Australia and Tasmania). After consecration the bishop stayed energizing in England for ten months, seeking priests and clerics to volunteer for the Australian Mission, and raising funds. At last, in March 1835, he sailed from Liverpool, accompanied by three priests (one a Benedictine), three subdeacons (all Benedictines), and two catechists (one of whom became Dean Kenny, a venerable figure in the Australian Church, and the historian of its beginnings to 1840). One of the priests died on the voyage. They called at Hobart Town, and at last reached Sydney, September 12, 1835.

Mr Attorney General Plunkett sent his carriage to convey the Bishop to the large and stately house, with twenty acres of garden and lawn, which the Vicar General had secured for his residence. On the Sunday the Bishop was installed in his Cathedral Church of St Mary's by the Vicar General, and celebrated High Mass pontifically, assisted by five of his little band of six priests. And then began that wonderful career of devoted and heroic missionary work, extending over forty years, which has deservedly won for John Bede Polding his recognized place among the greatest missionaries of modern times. An old friend and fellow monk at Downside, Bishop Morris of the Mauritius, on hearing of the appointment, well characterized him thus: 'He has a good head, a better heart, and an overflowing zeal.'

The account of the daily work of bishop and priests in Dr Polding's Report to Propaganda of 1842 is of great interest; as it pictures Ullathorne's daily life no less than the others', the following piece is given here from Dean Kenny's pages:¹

Like a true missionary, the first object of the Bishop was to reform the morals of the people, and enforce the discipline of the Church. . . . The Bishop and his clergy were indefatigable in their exertions to bring about a reformation of manners, and the greatest success, by the grace of God, resulted from their exertions. In the first relation of the mission of New Holland, which Bishop Polding presented to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, in Rome, he details the plan adopted to obtain that good end. 'We

¹ P. 72; the whole report is given by Moran, pp. 231-40, and in *Pioneers*, II, 15-31.

have', he says, 'the inexpressible satisfaction of being eye-witness to a decided change in the conduct and manners of our flock. . . . From week to week we have been employed in hearing the general confessions of individuals, who, on account of their circumstances, or through negligence, have remained immersed in sin for forty or fifty years, and even a longer time. It being of the greatest importance to have order in our missionary life, we formed a plan which we follow to the present day. We commence at an early hour in the morning, and place ourselves in the church, or house used for that purpose, and remain there until someone comes to confession. At 10 a.m. the sacraments of baptism and matrimony are administered; afterwards the hospitals are visited, the prisons, the gaols, and finally, the sick living in the city and suburbs. Thus is occupied the day until the evening, when the funerals are attended. Then only can we repose for a while, and apply ourselves to our spiritual exercises, although they are frequently interrupted, and even our sleep during the night. In the evening we instruct our converts. It need not be added that the Sunday is a day of incessant occupation. Each one celebrates Mass twice, and it is necessary to give two or three instructions, besides continual attendance in the confessional. In the course of a few months there was a visible change in the entire population, it being impossible that a reform such as this should take place in one-third of the population without producing a certain effect in the remainder. In consequence, the public authorities acknowledged that there was an amelioration, concluding from the general tranquillity throughout the Colony, and from the diminution of public crime.'

On Archbishop Polding's death in 1877 Bishop Ullathorne wrote the following account of the works of those early days, in all of which, it need not be said, he took his own full share:¹

The way in which he multiplied his energies struck the Colony with amazement. What above all things enkindled his zeal was the state of the convict population. Assisted by one or two priests, he raised his altar one day in a gaol, another in the convict barracks, another at the penal settlement of Goat Island, another at the great female house of correction, another at the establishment for juvenile convicts. He preached to them, taught them their Catechism, wept over

¹ *Tablet*, March 24, 1877; see also *Autobiography*, p. 112, and Polding's Report.

them, poured the overflowing tenderness of his heart into them, heard their confessions from morning to night, then, after all were prepared, would some early morning say Mass for them, and after some last most moving appeals, administer to them the Holy Communion. After that he seldom failed to give them solid advice touching their position, the perils that surrounded them, the way in which the disciplinary rules affected them, and how they might most effectually soften and even shorten their period of punishment. But it was when a ship arrived with some three or four hundred fresh criminals that the Bishop put forth his whole powers to the utmost. He had permission from the Government to have all the Catholics put at his command for a few days after their arrival. Under their superintendents they were kept at the Church the greater part of the day. Then would you see the Bishop, helped by his clergy and students in divinity—but himself the foremost—working such a change in these unhappy men that they went to their several destinations changed in heart and completely instructed in their duties. It was a touching sight to see the Bishop with one of his criminals kneeling by his side in the Sanctuary, and by word and action instructing all through how to make their confessions, or how to receive the Holy Communion.

It is no wonder that under such labours the Bishop was 'reduced to a skeleton'; or that he wrote home: 'Oh! that you could experience the sweetness and the consolations with which God is pleased to recompense these labours!'¹

The Bishop was constantly faced with need of schools and teachers, and of priests and still more priests: 'Priests—priests—priests our only want,' he wrote in 1837. To meet these crying needs it was decided that Fr Ullathorne should go to Europe. In a letter of June 1836 to the President of the English Benedictines the Bishop announces this decision and passes the following well-deserved encomium on his Vicar General:²

Without an addition to our numbers we can do very little; and hence, though it is to me personally a grievous privation, and to the mission generally a great loss, yet in the view of the great advantages to be derived, I have come to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to depute someone to Europe to implore assistance. Mr Ullathorne is charged with this commission. The Governor, in mentioning him in

¹ Moran, p. 135.

² *Pioneers*, I, 293.

his despatch in terms of great commendation, says no more than is strictly correct; for he is indeed a most exemplary zealous clergyman, whose life and talents are consecrated entirely to the duties of his state. He is a true son of St Benedict. If any of my confrères are willing to join me, I am sure no objection will be raised on your part; but they must be of the *right sort*—zealous, laborious missionaries, no love for self nor pelf.

To another correspondent he says: ‘How I shall manage without him I scarcely know. He is most useful to me. His intelligence, aptitude for business, and zeal, render him a most valuable coadjutor. He has certainly great merit for what he did previous to my arrival.’¹

Fr Ullathorne sailed from Sydney that same month, June 1836, having been just three and a half years in Australia, and he was away for two and a half years. The Bishop accompanied him as far as Hobart Town, whence Ullathorne proceeded, rounding Cape Horn, coasting along Brazil, and putting in at Rio de Janeiro, where they stayed some days, Ullathorne visiting the great Benedictine Abbey, then nearly empty of monks. He landed in England at the close of 1836.

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 291.

CHAPTER III

EUROPE—AUSTRALIA AGAIN (1837—1840)

FR ULLATHORNE'S arrival in England soon became known in Rome, and in January he received a summons to repair thither and report on the state of the Australian Mission. During Lent he set out for Rome, and met at Paris Frederic Ozanam, the friend of Montalembert and Lacordaire, and founder of the wide-spread charitable Society of St Vincent of Paul. He travelled to Rome in company with the Abbé Guéranger, not yet a monk, on his way to Rome to arrange for the resuscitation of the French Benedictines; Ullathorne was the first professed Benedictine he had ever met. At Lyons he was introduced to the managers of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, then in its early years. At their request he drew up a full account of the Australian Mission and of the convict system, to which he added a description of the country and of its most curious productions. It filled nearly a number of their *Annals*, and being so completely new, was said to have advanced the interests of the Society. The Society voted a handsome allocation of money to Australia, and it was continued for many years.¹ Sixty thousand copies of this number of the *Annals* were printed in French and twenty thousand in Italian and German.²

He reached Rome on Holy Saturday and stayed at San Calisto, the Benedictine headquarters in the city. He relates :

When I was presented to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, the mild and gentle Cardinal Franzoni, as Vicar General of Australia, His Eminence, after a quiet inspection, exclaimed 'Qual giovane!'; and after answering a few questions, I retired. On my presentation to Pope Gregory XVI, by the same title, His Holiness uttered the same exclamation :

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 123.

² *Pioneers*, I, 372.

'Qual giovane!' (What a youth). But he was truly paternal, and expressed a hope to see my Report. On fire as I was, and that habitually, with the interests of the Australian Mission and anxious to awaken a like interest in Rome, these receptions considerably cooled me. I felt I was looked on as a mere boy [he was at that time barely thirty-one years of age], and I therefore kept out of sight, and set to work with my Report. I drew it up at considerable length, in four parts. It was put into Italian by Dr Collier, and was revised by Abbot Peschiatelli. I presented it one part at a time, until I knew that the whole had been printed at the Propaganda Press. I then called upon the Cardinal Prefect, who expressed warm interest in the Report, and became very cordial.¹ I took the opportunity to observe to the Cardinal Prefect, that as both His Holiness and himself had remarked, with apparent surprise, upon my youthfulness, I begged to observe that I had not sought the office, that it was imposed upon me, and that I was most ready to resign it. His Eminence replied that the Report I had given was fully approved, that I had worked the Australian soil a good deal, and that I was not to suppose there was any dissatisfaction. His Holiness also directed that I should receive the diploma of Doctor of Divinity.

He made the acquaintance of Drs Wiseman and Cullen, Rectors of the English and Irish Colleges in Rome; he had an interview with the famous linguist, Cardinal Mezzofanti, a very prodigy in languages; he had dealings also with Mai, not yet a Cardinal. He records 'the kindness, courtesy, and refinement of the Benedictine Fathers at San Calisto'—and anyone who has been received at the houses of the Cassinese Benedictines will know how to endorse this characterization. He stayed in Rome for the Corpus Christi Procession, and then set out homewards. He relates that at the farewell audience Gregory XVI gave him words of encouragement, and recommended him to learn to speak Italian before his next visit to Rome.²

The principal object of the journey to Europe being to enlist priest-recruits for Australia, he had endeavoured to find priests in Italy—to his mind overstocked with priests—who

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 124. The Report was printed at the Propaganda Press; in matter it is almost the same as the pamphlet *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, published later in the same year.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

would volunteer for Australia; but had failed. Returned to England, he set to work preaching and lecturing with the same object, making known the religious destitution of the Colony and the urgent need for priests. His efforts awakened a warm interest, and several priests offered themselves for the work, but their bishops could not spare them. And so he turned to Ireland, the great nursery of priests. He found the bishops assembled at Maynooth, and from them he had a most cordial reception; a number of them—and he mentions especially Archbishop Murray of Dublin—did what in them lay to encourage young priests and students to volunteer for Australia, and a number did respond to the call; so that Dr Ullathorne sent on before him to Australia from Ireland two companies of eleven priests in all, with some ecclesiastical students and school teachers. In addition, through the good offices of Archbishop Murray, he secured a colony of five nuns from the newly-founded Institute of Irish Sisters of Charity.

One important matter was to obtain the recognition of these priests and teachers as Government chaplains and civil servants, with adequate salaries and allowances from the State. Over this he had dealings with the Secretary for the Colonies and the officials at the Colonial Office, and he was entirely successful; it should be put on record that the Government in the main showed itself understanding, sympathetic, and helpful.

The visit to Ireland was full of happy experiences and pleasing impressions:¹

The friendship which I enjoyed with the clergy of Dublin, and the opportunities which this gave me of observing their life of duty, led me to a high estimation of their learning and zeal, as well as of the religious influence which they exercise over their people. The charities of the city of Dublin were to me wonderful. It was Bishop Kinshela of Ossory who took me strongly by the hand. His house at Kilkenny was like a home to me. He took me with him to visitations, ecclesiastical conferences, and on other occasions, and initiated me into the whole working of the Irish Church. He gave me the run of his seminary, with leave to take as many young men as offered themselves for Australia. I selected one

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 137.

priest and five students, who afterwards turned out valuable priests.

In the *Autobiography* (p. 133) he says that the publication of the tract *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* was one of the first things he did on arrival in England; but a letter of November 8, 1837, shows that it was not published until that very day.¹ It was a great success; the first edition ran out immediately, so that the second was published within a month, and three others in the following year. It was a small-sized tract of sixty pages, and its purpose was to set forth the crying needs of the Catholic Church in Australia, and thereby to excite interest and procure help; but it also was the first popular denunciation of the convict system and the transportation of criminals to penal settlements. The advertisement of one of his sermons at this date is preserved in the same letter: 'The state of the Catholic missions in Australia will be explained, the horrors of transportation will be laid before the public eye, and the most destitute of God's creatures beg to be heard by the mouth of their minister in their appalling destitution of religious aid.'

It happened that a Parliamentary Committee on transportation and the working of the convict system was set up at this very time. The pamphlet came into the hands of Dr Lingard, the historian, and he sent it to the Chairman of the Committee. And so, early in 1838 Ullathorne received a summons to give evidence. He was examined on February 8 and 12; of this more in the next chapter. While in London he frequented the debates of the House of Commons, and O'Connell, Shiel, More O'Ferrall, and other prominent Catholic members would come and sit by him and converse.

In the middle of 1838 he was back in Ireland, and while there wrote the pamphlet *The Horrors of Transportation briefly unfolded to the People*. There was abroad in Ireland, as also in England, a wide-spread belief among the poor and destitute that their condition would be bettered by transportation, so that often some minor offence punishable by transportation would be committed of set purpose. In his evidence before the Committee he relates how during three

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 366.

months in 1837 he had preached against this delusion in the manufacturing districts of the north of England, mentioning especially Wigan, and had striven to bring home to the people the horrible realities of transportation, and how it differed from free emigration; he mentions also how the parish priest of one of the largest parishes in Dublin begged him to preach in his church and make the thing clear to the poor of his people. The Irish Government was alive to the evil, and on Ullathorne's return to Ireland in 1838 his aid was invoked. This is his account of the origin of the new pamphlet:¹

Mr Drummond, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and a most popular man in Ireland, sent me a request to call on him. He represented to me how completely the Irish people were in the dark respecting the sufferings and trials that attended transportation to the Penal Colonies. They had heard of the final success of a few men who had been banished to Australia, and were completely deceived as to the painful lot of the great multitude. He then asked me to write something that might open their eyes. I told him that, as I had heard similar sentiments expressed by many priests, I would write a popular tract on the subject. I then wrote the tract entitled *The Horrors of Transportation*, got it put in type, and sent a copy to Mr Drummond, with the information that it stood in type at the printer's, and was entirely at his disposal. He sent it to London for the Lord Lieutenant's approval, which being obtained, he ordered 20,000 copies to be printed and sent free of cost in packets to the parish priests and to the gaols.

In a letter at the time he speaks of it thus:²

Before leaving Ireland I wrote, at the request of the Irish Secretary, a small pamphlet, *The Horrors of Transportation*, to be distributed gratis. Its object is to show the difference between Transportation and Emigration, and as it develops the Summary Laws, and is filled with facts rested on high authorities applied to the popular mind *stingingly*, I hope it may be of some little service towards removing a monstrous delusion.

A note in the original draft of the *Autobiography* shows that he visited Downside more than once during the sojourn in England. On one of these occasions he engaged in a con-

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 141.

² *Pioneers*, I, 372.

troversy in Bath with a Rev. Mr Willis, who had made injurious attacks on the Catholics in Australia; he was brother of a Judge Willis there, a protagonist of the extreme Protestant party, who had publicly charged the Catholics with idolatrous worship.¹ Dr Polding, in a letter of September 1838, says 'he is brother to the man of Bath whom Dr Ullathorne drubbed so unmercifully last year.'² On the eve of sailing Ullathorne writes from London to his friend, Dr Brown, the Prior of Downside:³ 'I should like much to snatch a day from cares and preparations and endless correspondence, to visit you, but know not whether you are returned, or where you will be. If at home, pray let me know, and give my affections to all good confrères. Your affectionate and attached confrère.'

The activities of the last year in England are thus summarized:⁴

I gave a course of lectures on the Australian Mission and the condition of the convicts, in the churches of Lancashire, which, as they had been preceded by my pamphlet on the subject published in Liverpool, awakened a great deal of interest. The churches were densely crowded, and collections reached a sum considerably beyond the average. Ladies occasionally put their jewels on the plates. In the course of six weeks I collected some £1,500. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus were particularly cordial in co-operation. I then met the English bishops assembled on their affairs at York. They took a kind interest in the Australian Mission, although they could not spare us any priests. I also assisted at the opening of the chapel of New Oscott (July 1838), at which all the bishops were present, as well as a hundred priests. On that occasion the more ample form of vestments was first introduced in place of the old form derived from France. Pugin, with his dark eyes flashing and tears on his cheeks, superintended the procession of the clergy, and declared that it was the greatest day for the Church in England since the Reformation.

¹ It is worth noting that so effective was the protest and vigorous the agitation set on foot by Dr Polding and the Catholic body, that Judge Willis was transferred from Sydney to Melbourne, and in 1843 was removed from the bench, as not possessing the confidence of the public (*Pioneers*, I, 334).

² *Pioneers*, I, 338; there is a reference also in Ullathorne's *Reply to Judge Burton*, p. x.

³ *Pioneers*, I, 372.

⁴ *Autobiography*, p. 142.

At last, at the middle of August, Dr Ullathorne sailed once again for Australia, taking with him three priests, five Irish Sisters of Charity, and five ecclesiastical students. They landed at Sydney on the last day of 1838.

The second sojourn in Australia lasted just two years. It has to be said that this period was for Ullathorne, for divers causes, a less happy time than the former: it was indeed in great measure a time of stress, made up of struggles, controversies, and disgusts.

In the first place he lived in the abiding sense that this was not to be his life-work, that in two or three years' time he would be leaving the Colony. The reason is set forth in two letters written on the eve of sailing from England.¹ One of the ideas dear to both Ullathorne and Polding had been the hopes of making Australia a sort of Benedictine Mission—to us, looking at the Australian Church of to-day, with its hierarchy of five archbishops and seventeen bishops, its thirteen hundred priests, and its million of Catholics, the notion can only provoke a smile: it shows how little even these far-seeing men could imagine the mighty tree destined to grow from the mustard seed sown by Fr Therry and watered and cultivated by themselves. On his appointment as bishop, Dr Polding had appealed to the General Chapter of the English Benedictines, in the summer of 1834, to constitute Australia a third Missionary Province of the Congregation, to which its priests should be destined no less than to the two old Provinces in England; but the proposal was rejected by the Chapter.² Dr. Polding then formed the idea of establishing a Benedictine monastery at Sydney, under his own jurisdiction, to supply priests for Australia; and while in Rome Dr Ullathorne had obtained permission for such a foundation. The venture was made after his departure from Australia, but it proved a failure and was abandoned.

Naturally one of Ullathorne's chief endeavours in England had been to induce the Benedictine Superiors to send more subjects to Australia. In this he failed; a final letter a month before his sailing made it clear that the Superiors held that their obligations to the missions they were serving in England made it impossible for them to spare any subjects

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 370-2.

² MS. at Downside.

for Australia. Ullathorne's own view, as appears in the letter to be cited in a moment, was that the Benedictine commitments in the serving of missions in England should be reduced, in order to make it possible to spare men for the more urgent needs of Australia: this is his comment, July 11, 1838, on the refusal of the Benedictine Superiors:¹

I fear this letter must be considered as decisive. A petition to Chapter, I know, would be utterly useless: those of the old school would never yield. It is a subject to me of very deep regret: the failure will have much to do with my own future destiny. With all this failure in England, the Colony will become, of course, an Irish Mission, and perhaps ought to be so. I shall most likely leave the Mission myself in the course of three years, for under the circumstances I should probably be an obstacle to the Mission's advancement, and should content myself with forwarding it in England. I speak this after serious deliberation, and have advised with more than one wise head on the subject. To do anything Benedictine in the Colony is now out of the question, and I see not, amongst stronger reasons of utility to the Church, why I should secularize myself.

A few days later he reverts to the subject:

The reluctance of superiors and bishops in England, together with the turn of circumstances, has Hibernicized our Mission. I have much confidence in the piety and present good dispositions of all our new missionaries, but doubt much whether the Mission would work well, all the superiors being English, and all the subjects, nearly, Irish.² The refusal of Mr. Heptonstall by his Provincial, an act of which I have no right or title to complain, though I lament, has destroyed any prospect of Benedictinizing the Colony—a plan I thought both feasible and desirable, as did Rome. I think it not at all unlikely under all circumstances, that, ere long, if my superiors will receive and employ me, I shall return. Not that I have lost one jot of zeal for the cause. I could now perhaps serve them better here than there, by watching their interests at home. A scheme is on foot, urged by Rome, for forming a seminary, or adding largely to Maynooth, for the supply of the Colonies: and I see a disposition in one or two to bring the Colonies under the Irish Hierarchy.

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 371-2.

² In 1859 he still recognized that 'the Mission in Australia must for a very long time depend mainly on Ireland for being supplied with priests' (*Pioneers*, II, 252).

It is interesting to note that Ullathorne here, as also Bishop Brown of Newport,¹ and at a later date Bishop Willson of Hobart Town,² all recognized the fact that the Australian Church is the child of the Irish: the Catholics were all Irish; the priests who had been there before Ullathorne's coming were all Irish; except Ullathorne himself and Polding, and the half-dozen English Benedictines associated with them, the priests were all from Ireland; it was the Irish Hierarchy that responded to and promoted Ullathorne's appeals, when the English bishops were unable to do so; the first nuns were the Irish Sisters of Charity; the first body of religious men were the Irish Christian Brothers; the lay teachers Ullathorne was able to procure were from Ireland. As he said to the Irish bishops, 'Our Mission is but an appendage to the Church of Ireland.'³ So Ullathorne, recognizing the facts, resolved to return to England.

This sense of its temporary character was an unsettling element in the second phase of Ullathorne's Australian career. Others will appear in the sequel.

There was also the matter of health. The strain of the labours of the past six years in Australia and Europe had told seriously on him. When half-way through his labours in Europe, January 1838, he wrote: 'I have worked hard, and have scarcely given my nerves and constitution fair play.'⁴ There is an alarmist note, mingled with the joy of welcoming back his Vicar General, in a letter of Dr Polding's of January 12, 1839:⁵

I sit down literally at the eleventh hour to write to you. Prison ships, male and female, have crowded so closely upon us of late, that I have not had time, scarcely, for any other objects. Dr Ullathorne, with his companions and the good Sisters of Charity, arrived on the last day in the year—a happy termination to it. As I was proceeding from my house about 7.30 in the morning to the church, I observed a vessel sailing up the harbour, sails set in glorious style, and I remarked: 'That vessel contains a goodly freight', alluding in joke to that which proved to be the reality. About an hour after, I was gratified, having at my feet my good Vicar

¹ *Pioneers*, II, 41.

² Moran, *History*, p. 276.

³ *Pioneers*, I, 395.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 360.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 342.

General, after all his labour, anxieties, and travels. I perceived he looked pale and careworn; nor can I be surprised at this, having such a convoy under his protection. In fact, a sort of collapse has taken place after all his exertions, and I have deemed it proper to have him under medical treatment. I have no doubt that a very short time will restore him to perfect health. And later, March 5: Dr Ullathorne's health, I regret to say, is very delicate.¹

The atmosphere in which he found himself on arrival was little calculated to promote recovery: he found himself the object of an acrimonious attack from all quarters for the part he had played in exposing the realities of the convict system. His pamphlets and his evidence before the Committee had reached Australia and had stirred up the wrath of the vested interests. Others, it is true, had given evidence, but none so outspoken and so damning as his; and he had agitated, had worked a public campaign against the system, spreading pamphlets broadcast, and denouncing the enormities from pulpit and platform up and down England and Ireland. He was the foremost in awakening the public conscience, and on him were poured forth all the vials of the wrath of those interested in the maintenance of the system. Let him describe the storm himself:²

I had scarcely landed a day when I found myself the object of universal indignation, not only in the Colony, but in other penal settlements. Several other officials from the Colonies had given evidence on the convict system as well as myself, including the Chief Justice, Sir Francis Forbes: and they had spoken in language as plain as mine. But I was selected by the newspapers as the scapegoat for all. Then, besides my plain evidence, there was the little book on the Australian Missions which had been given, according to the wont of hostile newspapers, in garbled extracts with sinister comments. They concluded, however, falsely, that I had abused the system of assigning convicts to private service, for my own purposes, and with a view to obtaining assistance, in which they proclaimed that I had succeeded, at the cost of the Colony. It must be remembered that the Australian press was to that of England, in those days, what Australian was to English society. There was no mincing of terms. I had deeply wounded both freemen and emancipists in two most

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 404.

² *Autobiography*, p. 149.

sensitive points—in their pride and in their pockets. I made the degraded state of things widely known, not only at home, but throughout Europe. I had exposed the vicious results of the assignment system, yet others had gone further than I. The land derived its value from the number of convicts placed upon it; the settlers got work without paying wages; and the more criminals, the more wealth. Moreover, trades, manufactures, and even domestic service, depended upon the same resource.

After the evidence given against it, the system had been vigorously attacked by Parliament and by the British press, and its reformation was already looming in the distance. In the Colonial Legislature the subject of the evidence was discussed before my return; and my dear old friend, Attorney General Plunkett, expressed his regret at my vivid style; and as he was a man of the highest character, and the only Catholic in the Assembly, this did not mend matters. My landing was the signal for the storm to burst out anew, and for some six months I had about half a dozen columns of abuse allotted daily to my share. No one defended me. The Bishop and the clergy were dismayed; all held their tongues—and so did I. Only Mr Judge Therry, who was more versed in the criminal history of the Colony than any other man, solemnly declared to me that every word that I had uttered was true; and that if I retracted a syllable of it he would never forgive me.

Another element of dissatisfaction and discouragement lay in the relations between Vicar General and Bishop; he found it increasingly trying to work under Dr. Polding—not that there was any breach in the affectionately intimate relations of friendship between them; it was a difference of temperament. Polding was essentially a missionary: the one object of his care was the spiritual good of his flock, above all of the convicts. He was a great missionary, but a poor administrator, and not a strong ruler. Ullathorne on his return found the finances in confusion, the accounts incoherent, the official correspondence with the Government on the spot and at home neglected, the assertion of authority feeble. All this was intolerable to one of his temperament, and after chafing under it for a time, he wrote a straight letter of remonstrance, pointing out his complaints, and begging to be relieved from the office of Vicar General and permitted to leave the Colony. The emotional Bishop was deeply moved, and an arrange-

ment was made whereby the business side of the administration was placed wholly in the hands of the Vicar General, and thus the Bishop, being freed from all, was enabled to give himself up unreservedly to his beloved convicts. But it proved only a patch-up for a time. In the printed *Autobiography* there is no reference to this subject; but in the original draft he says it was the real reason of his coming away from Australia.

What has been set forth will explain the element of uncertainty and unrest that overclouded the two years of Ullathorne's second stay in Australia. We must now trace the events of these two years, up to his final departure at the end of 1840. Dean Kenny bears witness that 'the Catholic Church made great strides during the year 1839 and 1840,'¹ and at every turn in this progress Dr Ullathorne appears as playing a principal part in energizing, organizing, defending, and attacking too.

It has been said that he landed on December 31, 1838, and a week later, on Twelfth Night, there was a great public reception by the Catholics, presided over by the Bishop. Mr Commissioner Therry moved the resolution of thanks and congratulations for the success of the efforts in Europe, and Dr Ullathorne made a long speech in reply, dwelling chiefly on the impressions of the Roman visit, and 'that venerable man [Gregory XVI], on whose mitred brow a trinity of crowns is pressed.'²

The five Sisters of Charity were established at Parramatta, fifteen miles from Sydney, where was the great 'Factory,' or house of correction for female convicts, and Dr Ullathorne was placed there. Accounts that would seem unbelievable of the state of things in this Factory, the violences, the disorders, the immorality, are given by Ullathorne and Polding,³ and confirmed by Judge Therry⁴ and witnesses at the Committee of 1838. There were at times as many as a thousand women confined there, in three separate classes: newcomers waiting for assignment; mothers of illegitimate

¹ *History*, p. 185.

² Kenny, *History*, pp. 149-61; *Pioneers*, I, 384 ff.

³ *Autobiography*, p. 153; Polding's Report to Propaganda, Moran, 237, and *Pioneers*, II, 25.

⁴ *Reminiscences*, 217.

children nursing their babies; those sent there for punishment. There can be little question of the correctness of Judge Therry's statement that here 'hundreds of the most abandoned women of the Empire were huddled together like felons in a gaol.' Into this den of iniquity the Sisters penetrated like angels of light, seeking out the Catholic women, usually about a third of the whole. In only two months Dr Polding was able to write, March 5, to Archbishop Murray of Dublin, concerning the Sisters, whose coming had been due to him:¹

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—By the ship which conveys this, your Grace will receive a resolution of thanks on the part of the Catholics of this country for the truly paternal interest you have evinced in their spiritual welfare.

I have in an especial manner to discharge this duty, for the burthen which had become almost intolerable has been largely alleviated. The clergy have been located some weeks, and are working zealously and successfully. The good Sisters of Charity remained with me some weeks after their arrival. They then took possession of the house which I had engaged for them, previously to their landing, at Parramatta. It is near the Factory or penitentiary for females, which generally contains upwards of 600 inmates, one-third being Catholics. This, of course, has become the first object of their attention. I did not write earlier to your Grace, that I might be enabled to form an idea of the effects of their labours, and the probability there might be of bringing about a cure in a case which has hitherto been deemed hopeless. Their success has gone beyond my most sanguine expectations. A change which appears almost miraculous has taken place. Where, heretofore, all was noise and ribaldry and obscene conversation, you may now see the quiet of a well-ordered family. Not an oath nor curse nor brawling word is heard; and a general desire to frequent the Sacraments prevails. I, with one of the clergy, am occupied each Monday and Tuesday in hearing confessions, chiefly general, in order to lessen the duties of Dr Ullathorne, the resident clergyman. Upwards of 200 have confessed. Many have received the Holy Communion. The piety and fervour of the Catholic part has communicated itself to the Protestants, who have become amended and are willing, at least in a much greater degree, to attend to their own service. But many who called themselves Protestants return to the faith

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 403.

of their childhood from which they have been allured. The hospital for females is also in this town. This they visit and do much good. The ladies are very much respected by all parties, and I feel convinced their practical illustration of our religion in their lives will be of the greatest service in confuting the idle stories of the bigot and hypocrite respecting our creed.

Naturally many of the non-Catholic women used to come to the Sisters for consolation and advice. Will it be believed that a cry of proselytizing was raised, and that this good work of the Sisters in reclaiming these unfortunate women called forth a manifestation of anti-Catholic bigotry, and a suggestion that it ought to be put a stop to! Yet an attack on Dr Ullathorne in the *Sydney Herald*, dated Parramatta, April 10, 1839, contains the following paragraph:¹

Supineness and sloth are not the characteristics of the Popish Priesthood. Their whole time and energies are devoted to their vocation. They are indefatigable in propagating their mischievous doctrines, and strain every nerve to work out their own ends. This town seems to be fixed upon as the centre-point of their operations. From two to four or more priests and six Sisters of Charity are labouring day and night amongst us. Upon whatever side we look, these holy Brethren and Sisters are seen making their 'exits and their entrances', diffusing, in all directions, the subtle poison which lurks under a fair exterior. The Female Factory and the Hospital are rarely free from their visits. Of their proceedings at the former place, circumstances have been bruited abroad which ought to be enquired into, though probably enquiry would be of little avail, as we know that the pitiable and ignorant victims of this superstitious creed would be prevented by secret threats of damnation from disclosing aught militating against the propriety of the proceedings of their spiritual guides.

Of all imaginable signatures this letter bears the most incongruous: 'Philanthropos'! We are glad to learn from Polding's Report that, 'after a prolonged and disgusting controversy, the Sisters were at length freed from annoyance or further difficulty in the pursuit of their charitable mission.'²

As has appeared, Ullathorne was placed in residence at Parramatta in charge of the convent, the Factory for female

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 408.

² *Ibid.*, II, 25.

convicts, and the Catholic congregation of the district; once each week he went to Sydney to transact business with the Bishop.

After six months, on July 14, 1839, there was a public meeting of the Catholics, to adopt a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, protesting against the endeavours being made by the Church of England party to secure the position of Establishment for that Church alone in the Colony. At this meeting Ullathorne broke silence and defended himself and his fellow priests in a long and spirited speech, in which he hit back hard.¹

Before making any other remark, I wish to take this opportunity of disclaiming certain misdemeanours against the peace of society which have been imputed to me by a portion of the public press. For the last six months, since my return to the Colony, I have been selected as the mark by which to attack the Catholic community, I suppose, on that well-known principle of the human mind, that that which is made personal to one is felt much more vividly by the reader than that which is left as a general charge upon all. I have been accused of various uncharitable and bigoted acts, perpetrated in the course of my Christian ministry. These accusations have been untiringly reiterated upon the evidence of the first writer, a man without a name, who never himself witnessed the things he describes. An often-told tale, however absurdly it may have sounded at first, is at last believed. I have been silent for six months; were I longer to continue my silence, I should sanction my own condemnation. I have been accused of preaching the damnation of Protestants: I have done no such thing. My object was peace and conciliation, and the whole scope and tenor of my lecture went but to show that no individual Catholic, by his principles, had any right to condemn the conscience of an individual Protestant in matters of his belief. We have borne calumny upon calumny, and one misrepresentation after another, until we have been compelled at length by the very spirit of peace to show that we are neither the degraded slaves, nor the impious idolaters, nor the domineering bigots, unfit for all human converse, our enemies toil to make us appear. A few years ago, and where was the man in society, or the pen in the press, which did not deplore the want, and invoke the aid of a Catholic clergy, to instruct and amend the Catholic people. We have left all things—we have come,

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 425-8.

our exertions are beginning to show a good result, and this is our reward. A priest passes from his daily toils amongst the sick in body and diseased in mind, from amongst the wretched and degraded in every degree of misery, from gangs, and prisons, and hospitals, and sick chambers, from quelling drunken insolence, and reconciling domestic feuds, from long and weary contests with vice and crime, he passes to his retirement, his prayers and his books; he asks but a little time to calm and strengthen his heart before God, to prepare him for his renewed war against human passions, for a little leisure to refresh and repair his mind for new efforts; and even this one consolation of his life it is denied he shall possess in peace. Again I ask, what is our crime, but that we have laboured and striven to present our people to the Government better subjects, to employers more faithful and trustworthy dealers, to masters more orderly and better servants, to society better men? If we have failed in this attempt, whom have we injured? If we have at all succeeded, where is our guilt? It is well to say that a few nameless hirelings are our revilers. Every man who continues to receive the slander encourages it, and every man who pays for it sanctions the slander by his act.

The last words foreshadow the next step forward, the floating of a Catholic newspaper:¹

Hitherto the Catholics had supported the *Australian*, a paper written by a clever barrister. But this paper attacked us more malignantly than the rest. The editor went so far as to attack our Bishop, and to hold him up to ridicule as well as myself. In consequence of this I went to the office, in company with another priest, to let them know that if they continued this policy we should establish a newspaper of our own. 'I', I said, 'am fair game, but you have no right to attack the Bishop; what has he done to offend you?' They evidently did not believe that we could establish a newspaper. An apology appeared for the attack on the Bishop; but they adopted my words that I was 'fair game'. But the Catholics would stand this no longer. The leading laymen met, put down a sufficient sum of money, and a Catholic paper was started, and was edited by a keen-witted, clever convert from Presbyterianism, whom I sent out as a schoolmaster, and who ultimately rose to be Commissioner of Customs. He gave them blow for blow; and the chief value of this was that the Catholics had now an organ and a voice which exercised a considerable political influence.

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 151.

The first number of the *Australasian Chronicle* was published on August 2. Its programme was 'to explain and uphold the civil and religious principles of Catholics, and to maintain their rights.' For all that, the newspaper campaign against the priests went on; until in consequence of a libel on Fr Brady, afterwards Bishop of Perth, an action was brought against them, and, as Ullathorne relates with some evident satisfaction, one of them was ruined in consequence.¹ The following passage in the *Autobiography* belongs to this period:²

The assaults of the press still went on, and every new piece of intelligence that reached us from England, whether of reform recommended in the transportation system, or of discussions on the subject in Parliament, awakened anew the animosity of which I was the object. A certain lady arrived in the Colony from Ireland, professing to be the niece of a priest, and was taken under protection by an anti-Catholic party, and employed in lecturing on the horrors of Popery. To her lectures I gave a public reply. It so happened that two ruffians, looking out for plunder in the neighbourhood of Parramatta, met with this woman and attacked her on the road where she was walking. Fortunately they were caught. My adversaries in the press seized the occasion to associate me with it, and one flaming article was headed 'Dr Ullathorne and Blood'. So great was the excitement caused, that when these men were brought before the Supreme Court the judge thought it expedient to warn the jury that I was in no wise connected with the case, before the trial proceeded.

It was towards the end of the year 1839 that the difficulties between Vicar General and Bishop declared themselves. The letters on this subject preserved at Downside and printed in *Pioneers* (pp. 436-42) are so illustrative of Ullathorne's life at this time and of his personality, that it is right to give here the most substantive portions of them.

The first is from the Bishop to a friend at Downside, of date October 1:

My Vicar General has, I fear, made up his mind to leave this country. On my return to Sydney I found a letter from him, requesting my sanction to this measure, written in

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 158; see below, p. 74.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

the most earnest terms. How much this grieves me I cannot tell you. I had, as I thought, arranged everything to his satisfaction. Parramatta had become uncomfortable to him, and the labour was too great. I had brought down Mr Brennan to be there for a time at least. Dr Ullathorne was to be the President of the Seminary, to transact the business of the diocese as Vicar General, and to go to the Sisters of Charity once in the week by the steamer which returns the same day. I had arranged all, as I thought, so that I could visit my people without uneasiness. Thus I am disconcerted. I know not what I shall do. Poor Ullathorne's health is indeed sadly shattered, and his spirits have become affected. The savage calumnies heaped upon him by our wretched press have alienated his mind from the country, and he imagines, I am sure groundlessly, that there is existing against him a general prejudice. The good he did this Mission in England you on the spot may perhaps more distinctly know than we at a distance: by the fruit we know that good. But since his return his services in the cause of religion have been beyond all praise. He has formed the house of the Sisters of Charity; his labours have made the Factory the abode of penitence. Almighty God has sent me many trials; that is, of all, the most severe. May His holy will be done. May not you, upon his return, obtain permission [*i.e.*, to come out in his place]? Gregory at Norfolk Island, Ullathorne away, I am alone; not one of my own near me. Pray for me, my dear friend, that God may enable me to do His will. Ever most affectly.,

✠ J. B. POLDING.

Ullathorne's letters are, as usual, to his confidant, Dr Brown, the Prior of Downside:

October 18, 1839.

MY DEAR CONFRÈRE,—I have delayed writing to you until I could furnish you with something definite. The Mission is, on the whole, doing well and vigorously. We are much straitened by want of missionaries. Twelve good active men would be a great relief to us. Our recruits are doing beyond all expectation well. For a new mission, give me young men in their first fervour with an old head over them. They are placed two and two in the centre of large tracts of country with scarcely any control, and never trouble their heads with any one thing but their missions. The moral face of the country is showing a new set of features, though much desperate wickedness must of course continue to thrive. We have just had it promulgated from the Governor that the

present system of transportation is to cease *instantly*, no more assignments, all convicts on arrival are to proceed straight to Norfolk Island, where a penitentiary system is to be established; after a certain number of years the prisoners are to come here in the enjoyment of tickets-of-leave, withdrawable on bad conduct. As I have had my small share in bringing about this state of things, you may be certain I am not very popular with the money-making leeches of the Colony. On that score, and on the old one of being an inveterate promoter of Catholicity, *per fas et nefas* they imagine, I have been since my return 'the best abused man' on this side of the globe, O'Connell being the one on your side. The whole of the press has been upon me; seven columns *per diem* is good allowance. The *Sydney Monitor* has established a distinction between the old Gothic popish Church and its abuses, and the new modern reformed Catholic one, at the head of which he puts Dr Polding, who bears it, together with the honourable innuendo as to my headship of the old Gothic, in most amiable patience.

Entre nous, my dear Confrère, I have had much to suffer from the Bishop's weaknesses. I have twice entreated permission to give up the Vicar Generalship, and twice resolved to return to my Order. I had nearly completed my arrangements last week, and had actually taken my cabin; the fact that I am leaving is still uncontradicted before the public, and the Catholics are actually taking measures for a public meeting, an address, testimonial, etc. Dr Polding's penchant for the mission makes him neglect business; the Government correspondence is in a scandalous state; the duties towards the clergy and general business done or put off or abandoned, according to impulse, the Bishop himself a continued prey to his own acute and morbid feelings. His eyes are at length open; he confesses it is only such a trial as I have put him to would have done it. He wrote me letter upon letter in most yearning language, and could not understand why I should leave him. I at length told him everything strongly, first by letter, next through Fr Brady, a man I revere as a saint. He admits he has not treated me well, and that I am justified in my intention of leaving him; confesses he has not firmness enough to govern the Church; that if I go all things must be confused; that there is none to succeed me whom the clergy will look up to; and surrenders the management of all affairs into my hands. I have insisted as a basis of all arrangements, a statement of accounts; that he will conceal nothing from me in which the Church is interested; that when a thing is once deliberated upon and decided, it shall be committed to execu-

tion, and not changed by the first fleeting whim or nearest influence. On these terms, at the public invitation of the Bishop and clergy, I consent to remain for the present. I take in hand the young Seminary, and the general business of the Church, not one iota of which in its mechanical workings shall be transacted out of my own official room. This will, I trust, set things on their legs again. There will be much congratulation in the Church, and much sorrow among the bigots at the news of my remaining. My chief consolation in all my cares is my dear Convent of Sisters of Charity. I have had it all my own way from the beginning. It is a community of saints. It was the sense of the desolation of the Convent without a soul to know or understand them, which tugged most desperately at my heart and conscience strings, or I believe I should not now be here. What would I give to live in the simplicity of obedience in St Gregory's. No one but who has experienced it knows the pain or the evil effect on self, of being obliged to govern and almost command your own superior and he a bishop. God help me! See, my dear friend, what a confidential letter I have written to you. Pray for me, counsel me; a letter from you would be a good part of the hundredfold in this life. Understand me: the Bishop is doing vast good as a missionary, and is idolized by the people, as he is beloved as well as pitied by his clergy; only God never made him to govern or transact business. Pray give my heartiest remembrance to all the community.

Your most affectionate Confrère,
WM ULLATHORNE.

December 4, 1839.

MY DEAR CONFRÈRE,—After my last lugubrious letter, you will be glad to receive a more satisfactory one. Our new arrangements have worked admirably. The Bishop has got rid of that terrible indecision of mind which made himself and his mission miserable, and tells me he never before felt his position. The press which treated the Church with such unheard-of violence is ruined: the *Sydney Standard*—defunct; the *Sydney Gazette*, the oldest paper in the Colony, backed by members of Council and commercial influence—its editor off to Port Phillip, and its materials, this day, put up to auction, and the best of these will be bought in by our own party; a third, the *Sydney Monitor*, one of long and steadfast standing, is terribly shaken and cropped of subscribers. Our own *Australasian Chronicle*, now in its second quarter, has already reached the largest

circulation save one, and will have the first, in the Colony. You have here an Appendix to *De Mortibus Persecutorum*.

The foundations of three churches will be laid within a fortnight, another in Sydney will soon follow, and three more are in course of preparation for commencement. We have filiated a part of the Convent to Sydney, and are about commencing a second Orphan School, to be supported by Government.

I have taken the opportunity of the present promising and prosperous state of things to fulfil my intention of retiring. To save the pain of a long contest, after having had so many, I sent in my resignation yesterday to Government and Bishop at same moment. The Bishop, after a struggle with himself, has at length come in to my wish, says it is arranged by Providence for the greater ultimate service of the Mission, as he trusts I shall be allowed to have an eye to the general interests of the Colonies, etc.

I have, *entre nous*, succeeded at last in persuading the Bishop to separate Van Diemen's Land as soon as possible, which it is impossible he can conscientiously attend to from N.S. Wales. I write this in case he should possibly seek for anybody for that Mission. Myself am out of the question. I am running away from a contemplated coadjutorship held out here, and I know of nothing that could induce me to go there. I write this, of course, in confidence. The next ship will probably bring me to England. Will you have the kindness to communicate this from me to V. Rev. Father President. I shall proceed at once to Downside, unless I find orders with Mr Heptonstall at London, and there expect commands. . . . I am poorer, I am happy to say, than when I came here. Pray give my affections to my confrères.

Most affectionately yours,

WM ULLATHORNE.

So opened 1840; but Dr Ullathorne's departure was postponed until the end of the year. Someone writing to England in the early part of the year says: 'I am happy to inform you that the health of Dr Ullathorne is greatly improved. Thank God he has taken a favourable turn, and is now perfectly well.' At the end of May he sailed to Adelaide, the capital of the newly-founded Colony of South Australia, and spent some weeks there, visiting and ministering to the Catholics, and considering what could be done

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 463.

towards providing a resident priest.¹ He was back in Sydney by August 25, on which day took place the laying of the foundation stone of the second Catholic church in Sydney, dedicated to St Patrick.

In connection with this event Ullathorne displayed his quiet masterful firmness and sound judgement in coming to the rescue of the Bishop and smoothing over what was threatening to be an unpleasant and mischievous episode:²

It happened that at this time a scheme was being agitated for establishing a general system of elementary education on conditions which no Catholic could have accepted; in consequence of which, the Bishop and myself had an interview with the Governor, Sir George Gipps, on the subject. After considerable discussion, the Governor brought the interview abruptly to a conclusion by saying: 'In short, I must adhere to the strongest party, and I don't think that you are the strongest.' After that we determined to make a public demonstration, for we knew that, if not the strongest by numbers, we were by our union. We took the opportunity of laying the foundation of St Patrick's Church, which was fixed for August 25, 1840. As the time approached a warm national feeling had been raised among the Irish Catholic population, and they resolved to make an exhibition of national emblems. Hitherto national distinctions had been instinctively avoided in the Colony; all prided themselves on being Australians. The rumours afloat about this exhibition of nationality alarmed the governing authorities; they were afraid of its ending in reprisals, and of its becoming the beginning of national parties. The Governor sent for the chief police magistrate and expressed to him his apprehensions. The magistrate came to me, and conjured me to prevent the religious procession from being turned into a national demonstration. 'Suppose', he said, 'that Orange flags are lifted up, what will be the state of Sydney? Hitherto we have all gone on so peacefully together.' I asked the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, both Irish Catholics, and our leading men among the laity. They thought that, however innocently intended, things were going too far. I felt compelled to take the matter in hand, and made full representations to the Bishop. His Lordship felt reluctant to oppose the ardent feelings of the people. I retired to another room and wrote him a letter, stating that I had now done all I could in the way of repre-

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, 167-72.

sentation, both to himself and to the clergy, and felt myself free from further responsibility; but that, as the whole object of the procession was to conduct his Lordship to the foundation stone, and not to make a national demonstration, I felt that the representations of the authorities ought to be attended to. He then sent for me, and asked what I recommended, as he did not see his way. To this I replied that, without compromising him, if he would leave it to me, I thought I could find a way through the difficulty. And it was left to my judgement.

This was the eve of the day appointed for the ceremony. A meeting of the general committee was then being held, and I got Mr Therry, the Solicitor General, and some other gentlemen, to accompany me to the assembly. It was densely crowded, and excited speeches were going on. In a speech of an hour's length I gradually worked the assembly round until I came to the point; and then the chief leader of the popular voice arose, and called upon the assembly to comply with my advice, and, for the sake of peace to withhold from the procession those marked national emblems, however much they had cost; for peace was better. Thus the point was gained. Mr Therry, who had been one of O'Connell's leaders in the great meetings for Emancipation, was much struck with the whole affair, and with the way in which that vehement excitement in one direction was turned, by degrees, into another. When I informed the Bishop of the result, he flung himself with tears on my shoulder and said I was always saving him [original draft].

The Catholic population was in a state of exalted enthusiasm in looking forward to the ceremony. The procession started from the Cathedral, and had to pass through the principal parts of the town. Bands of music were provided. The Cross preceded, magnificent banners following along the line. Three hundred girls clothed in white followed the Cross, the rest of the children forming a long line. Then came the Catholic people, who were 14,000, out of a population of 40,000. After them the acolytes and the clergy in their sacerdotal vestments, whilst the procession was closed by Bishop in mitre and cope with his attendants. Such a procession had never been seen in Australia. The whole population filled the streets, and as we reached the place of the new church, on one of the highest points in Sydney, by every descent you might have walked on the heads of the people, among whom voices were heard saying, '*We can't do this; we must consent to come second.*' The foundation stone was suspended in the air, visible to the multitude. At the Bishop's request I was mounted upon it, and thence I

gave the touching history of the house [Mr William Davis's] which had now disappeared, which had been the centre of Catholic devotion in our days of trial and persecution and which had now made way for the church which was there to rise on the most elevated point in Sydney.¹ It was on the very catacombs of the Catholics that this church was to repose.

This was a revelation to the Colony of our strength, and our reply to the Governor's remark. It must be remembered that, in those days, we had to meet the long cherished traditions of Protestant supremacy, and to *assert* that equality before the law, which the law itself had given us.

We come now to what Ullathorne himself characterizes as the most important of his Colonial publications, the *Reply to Judge Burton*, from all points of view an excellent and masterly production, administering the last blow to the persistent efforts of an intransigent minority to secure 'establishment' in its most exclusive and oppressive shape for the Church of England in the Colony. Judge Burton we have already encountered as 'Philanthropos' (see p. 68), and can measure the probable matter and manner of his polemic. A short time after the above-mentioned letter he went to England with the avowed object of securing his purpose by an Act of Parliament. He must have written the book, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, on board ship, so as to publish it at the beginning of 1840 in a volume of 450 pages; allowing it five months to get back to Sydney, it cannot have come to Ullathorne's hands until his return from Adelaide, probably at the end of July. Yet the *Reply* was out before September 10, an extraordinarily rapid production of a tract of one hundred pages of facts and figures, of historical research, of close argument intercalated with bursts of impassioned invective. It is an extremely able piece of controversy on a high level. It is more than this: it contains a sketch from authentic documents of the history and progress of religion in New South Wales, Church of England and Scottish Presbyterian as well as Catholic,

¹ The beautiful story of this house is told in all the Histories of the Australian Church, how when Fr Flynn was deported in 1818 and the Catholics left without a priest, he was arrested so summarily that the Blessed Sacrament was left in Mr Davis's house, to be the rallying-point of Catholic life and devotion for two years, till Fr Terry's arrival in 1820.

and for the latter it is the source mainly relied on by later writers.

It is true that the main controversy is dead and buried long ago; but it was very living at the time, and is worth briefly resuscitating, otherwise should we hardly realize what Ullathorne, Polding, and the Catholics, and also the Presbyterians and other Nonconformists, had to fight against. The principle for which Burton and the Anglican Bishop were contending was thus formulated: 'The Established Church of England is the National Church wherever the National Standard waves.' And the claim was that this Church should not only be established, but amply endowed by the State. Burton pressed that an early grant made in 1825, but cancelled in 1833, should be renewed, whereby one-seventh of the entire land in extent and value had been handed over to the Church of England for religious and educational purposes. Although the Catholics and Protestant Dissenters equalled in number the membership of the Church of England, and the assistance they received from the Government was in a very marked degree disproportionately small in comparison with that received by the Church of England—for instance, the Anglican Bishop had a salary of £2,000, besides emoluments, and the Catholic Bishop only £500—yet Burton protested that the Church of England should receive more, and the others nothing at all, except 'toleration'. He went further: he advocated the perpetuation of the system whereby all orphans and children of convicts should be brought up Protestants, and even that all children should receive from the State their education, as of the Church of England.

Dr Ullathorne attacked the central idea on which all this structure was built, that 'the Protestant reformed religion is established by law in New South Wales.' Aided no doubt by his lawyer friends, Therry and Plunkett, he showed by appeal to Statute Law that the Anglican Establishment was limited to England, Ireland, Wales and Berwick. Before the Church Act, passed in 1836 by Governor Bourke, there had been no religion established by law in New South Wales, and by that Act three had been established on a footing of full legal equality, the English, the Scottish Presbyterian,

and the Catholic Churches. Besides being a crushing piece of controversy, it was a scathing castigation of Judge Burton himself, showing among other things how one of his judgments, which would have invalidated all previous Catholic marriages of convicts, had been reversed by the Higher Court. 'He misstates our case, insults the Catholic people, questions the sincerity of their clergy, derides their creed, and sneers at the most holy of their sacraments' (p. viii). One piece may be cited from the finale:

'*The Catholic and convict party*'. That is the phrase by which you express your favourite association of ideas in our regard. If in the word convict you comprehend, as it would seem, the emancipists: who gave you power to stretch the law beyond its term, to punish after the laws have ceased to punish, and to make freemen your prisoners? Would the political acts that brought many of these men from Ireland transport them now? To hold men down in degradation whom no law degrades—is this the way to raise them up? Is this mercy? Is it even justice? '*The Catholic and convict party*'. Are these words convertible? Is a Catholic a convict, and a convict a Catholic, as a matter of course; or what is your meaning? If by these words you would express the relations of duty between the priest and the prisoner, you are so far right. The Catholic clergyman is to be more frequently found amongst this than amongst any other portion of society. He 'seeks not the just, but sinners'. He has a divine example and makes no apology. If this be made our reproach and offence, then welcome be it; but we did not expect it from a Christian judge (p. 93).

This is Ullathorne's account of the reception of the *Reply*.¹

The Judge had shown a strong animus, and it was necessary to produce an impression. The pamphlet did produce a sensation. Judge Burton was still in England, and one of his brother judges sent him the sheets as they were printed. We took care to send several copies to the Colonial Office in England, and to the Library of the House of Commons. He returned just before I left the Colony. His friends gave him a public dinner, and did their best to smooth things over. But soon after he was removed to India, where he remained eighteen years, after which he returned as Chief Justice to Sydney for a time. But this stern policy did not

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 162.

improve the feelings of the High Church people towards me; nor did the lawyers, as a body, like to have one of their ornaments attacked. A leading barrister, who ventured to say at a public meeting that this pamphlet was only unanswerable because no one thought it worth answering, was hissed into silence by the general sense of the assembly.

He continues:¹

Another conflict in which I was concerned was with the Tract Society. From this Society anti-Catholic tracts began to be distributed even at the doors of Catholic houses. We noticed that even Government officials made themselves active in this Society; and not only subscribed to it, but made speeches in its assemblies. When these tracts began to fly about, I advised the Catholics to accept the next that was offered and bring it to me. A quantity came. I then made extracts from them of passages that were insulting to Catholics, and drew up a list of Government officials who supported the Society. We then called a great meeting of the Catholic population and proposed to them that, as this Tract Society was promoting enmity and division between two classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and as several of the Government officials, instead of promoting peace, were co-operating in this method of disturbing the peace of society, a list of those gentlemen, together with extracts from those tracts, should be forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. This was done, and it cleared the rooms of the Society of these gentlemen.

On September 10 a great meeting of Catholics was held, at which Dr Ullathorne received a vote of thanks for the *Reply*, and for his vigorous defence of Catholic rights and interests in the persistent attacks made upon them. He responded in a fighting speech:²

The Catholics were banded together to combat the numerous and unjust attacks which were being made upon the members of the Catholic body collectively and individually. They were assailed by the judge on the bench, by the justice of the peace, by clergymen from the pulpit. The Catholic community did not wish to quarrel with anyone, but was rather desirous of associating peaceably with their fellow colonists; still, it was necessary in justice to their civil and religious safety to defend themselves against these unpro-

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 163.

² *Pioneers*, I, 479-83.

voked assaults. At the very last meeting of the Diocesan Committee what had been said from the pulpit was carefully collected and afterwards printed, charging the Catholics with usurpation, and asserting that its followers offered all their prayers and sacrifices through another mediator than our Blessed Redeemer. It was but a very few days ago that a person, a non-commissioned officer of a regiment, asserted at a public meeting held for the purpose of disseminating the Gospel of Peace, that Popery, Infidelity, and Satan were in league. He further referred to the Tract Society and its publications which were distributed everywhere, filled with misrepresentations, calumnies and falsehoods, which only a perverted ingenuity could devise. Further, the June, 1840, number of the *Sydney Protestant Magazine* professed to give 'the prices charged for indulgence in various sins by Gregory XVI.' It appeared to him truly astonishing when he saw gentlemen whose general character they were bound to respect, capable of meeting together in a society, and contributing by their presence and influence to the circulation of productions which seemed to have no other object in view than to insult and degrade the Catholic name.

His intervention at this time in two matters of secular concern deserves to be chronicled. The first he relates himself:¹

One thing I did before I left Sydney which ought to be recorded. It was something very obvious, to me at least, but no one else seemed to see it. A great deal of speculation was going on, and the price of land in Sydney and other townships rose enormously. It was said that land had been sold in one principal street at a higher price per foot than it had ever been sold at that time in Cheapside, London. Many millions of paper money had floated from the banks; but at that time the Government Gazette published the amount of specie in the Colony, which did not amount to more than £600,000. Anyone with a little knowledge of finance ought to have seen the consequence; but no notice was taken of it. I then wrote three letters in the *Australasian Chronicle*, the Catholic paper, addressed respectively to His Excellency the Governor, to the city of Sydney, and to the Colony at large, in which I predicted that great troubles were in the wind, and that a great deal of property must soon change hands. . . . They were received with incredulity; but after a time came the crash, and many failures. Land ran down rapidly

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 175.

in price, and sheep, the staple of the Colony, came from 25s. to 5s. a head, and even to half a crown. Nor did the Colony fully recover itself until the discovery of gold. Meeting my old friend, Sir Roger Therry, long years after, on his return to England, he said, 'We did not believe your letters, we were rather amused at them; but we were awfully punished.'

The other is told in the *Oscotian*,¹ evidently received from himself:

A scheme had been devised by the aristocracy of the Colony for the purpose of protecting the fair name of themselves and their descendants. A bill was introduced into the Legislative Council, whereby a census was to be taken of the whole population, recording of every family, whether they had come out free or convicts. Now, many who had come out under this latter condition, or were descended from such as had done so, had risen into prosperous circumstances, and others were bidding fair to do the same; and the effect of the proposed measure would have been to stamp all these families with ignominy for ever. Such a measure, invidious and unjust in all cases, was doubly so in the case of the Catholics, so many of whom had come out as convicts, indeed, but not criminals. Bishop Polding, therefore, and his Vicar, determined to sound the note of alarm; they sent for Mr Duncan, a Scotch convert and schoolmaster, and editor of the Catholic paper, and desired him to get up a public meeting, select his speakers well, assigning to each his separate theme, and then to give a full report of the whole. This report filled the paper, and it was laid on the table of every member of the Council the day before the second reading was to come on. Dr. Ullathorne wrote one of his incisive letters pointing the question; and the result was a complete change of front on the part of the Anglican Bishop Broughton and the great majority of the Council, who had previously committed themselves in favour of the bill, but now rejected it. Thus was averted a measure certainly opposed to the best interests and future well-being of Australia.

From what has gone before it is seen that all during these two years Ullathorne was the stormy petrel of New South Wales, the Catholic protagonist in controversy after controversy, conflict after conflict. He thus explains the situation:²

¹ 'Ullathorne Number', July, 1886, p. 31.

² *Autobiography*, p. 164.

The Bishop wished me to take the lead in this conflict, to receive all blows aimed at his authority, and thus to keep the episcopal office free from attack. This I readily assented to as proper to the office of Vicar General. But the press coupled all this with my evidence on the transportation system, and dubbed me with the title of the Very Rev. Agitator General of New South Wales.

He records, too, how one of the senior priests said to him that there would never be peace in the Colony so long as he was there.¹ There can be no doubt that the state of public feeling in his regard, and the animosities his actions stirred up, formed one of the causes contributing to his determination to leave the Colony; he had the sense that his work there was done and his period of usefulness over. Reviewing it all in old age, he says:²

If I were asked how I was affected by those long and persistent attacks of the press, and by the opinion thus generated, though it never touched the Catholic circle, I should say that, being then a young man I was not without an annoying consciousness of it, especially as I was left to bear the brunt alone; yet it was less the object of thought than of a certain dull pressure as from the enduring of hostile elements. But it was a valuable training, as it made me indifferent to public opinion, where duty was concerned, for the rest of my life.

His health, also, was seriously impaired:³

Owing to the long course of anxieties I was at that time much wasted and worn down in health; so much so that, in looking back to that time, I find that in the speeches I had to make in public assemblies, I had repeatedly to apologize for brevity on that account. Persons from England who had met me reported to my friends there how weary and worn I looked; for I had many solitudes and many things to combat which it is unnecessary here to record. It was a maxim of the Bishop, as I have already stated, that it was the business of the Vicar General to meet all the blows, and to keep his Principal in the good odour of peaceful reputation.

The need of more priests pressing on him with increasing urgency, Dr Polding at the end of 1840 determined to proceed to Europe himself. The decision was somewhat sud-

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 151.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.



WILLIAM BERNARD ULLATHORNE

1842

denly made, but Ullathorne saw in it the opportunity he was desiring of quitting Australia. It was settled that he should accompany the Bishop. They knew, what was not generally known, that it was Ullathorne's final departure. The Catholics, and, indeed, the whole population, gave them a great send-off, for Dr Polding was immensely popular and unreservedly respected in all circles. On the Sunday before they left was held a general Catholic meeting, with addresses and presentations.¹ Mr. Therry made the speech to Dr Ullathorne, and presented a silver snuff-box filled with sovereigns; to the Bishop was given a treasury bill, £400. Ullathorne's reply was brief, simple, and affectionate; it contained no suggestion of the final parting. Then came the end:²

On the morning of departure I said Mass for the nuns whom I had brought to the Colony, now increased in number, who had come from Parramatta to Sydney for a blessing, and to bid us farewell. I had hitherto had the entire guidance of them, and I loved them in God as a father loves his children. Dear souls, it was a touching scene, and they wept the whole Mass over their separation from their friend and guide. The departure was marked by an extraordinary scene. The Catholics, to the number of seven thousand, accompanied the Bishop from the Cathedral to the harbour, the population crowded the shore, the ships hoisted their colours, salutes were fired, and steamers, with the chief Catholics on board, with bands of music, accompanied the vessel to the Heads. The affectionate respect shown the Bishop was loud and hearty on all sides. At last we were alone on the wide sea, and the coast of Australia vanished from our eyes.

Thus did Dr Ullathorne bid farewell to Australia, November 16, 1840.

No better appreciation can be found of his work there than that contained in the dedication of Dean Kenny's book, *History of Catholicity in Australia*. Kenny was one of the ecclesiastical students who went out in his company in 1838, and lived in close touch with him during the last two years; moreover, writing close on fifty years afterwards, he was able to look back and see things in their real perspective, and so estimate the abiding effects of Ullathorne's influence on the progress of things Catholic. He says:

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 487.

² *Autobiography*, p. 173.

Your zeal and labours under Dr Polding's auspices changed the condition of the Catholic Church in Australia. By your writings you informed Europe of the restraints of the Catholics in this far-distant land, and their spiritual destitution; and you travelled in all parts to obtain an abundant supply of priests. You brought from the colleges and universities of Ireland and the Continent bands of zealous and enlightened missionaries, who spread the faith everywhere, and covered the land with churches. You exposed the inhuman treatment of your fellow man by those who were in power, and greatly contributed to the amelioration of his unfortunate condition. By your pen and words you silenced the enemies of our holy faith and reduced them to reason.

The young men whom you were preparing for the priesthood were singularly favoured, of whom I was one. You spared no pains to develop our minds, by imparting to us the rich stores of philosophical and historical knowledge with which your luminous and acute mind was supplied. Many years have passed since you bade farewell to the Australian shores; but never ought the Catholic Church of Australia forget those days when, in all the vigour of your great intellect, you laboured so earnestly and incessantly for her welfare.

Of his personal life, religious and intellectual, during this time of strain and strife, he leaves some records in the original draft of the *Autobiography*, which show him as the religious man and the student always:

The agitating period of my last residence in Australia was not all spent in action; I had my quiet hours in retirement surrounded with my books. And I also gave retreats to the nuns as well as to the clergy, and always found in them a resource for the restoration of my own spirit; I had also a good deal of preaching. Among my books I had some valuable ascetic writings, especially the best Spanish edition of St Teresa, and Fr Baker's *Sancta Sophia*, and I was still a monk at heart. Digby's volumes on Christian Chivalry and on the Ages of Faith helped much to refresh and elevate the heart amidst the din of conflict and the sordid surroundings of a penal settlement. But when I wanted rest and nothing but rest of mind, I not unfrequently betook myself for a few evening hours to Sir Walter Scott. Of one kind or another, after weariness and anxiety, I always found a book the pleasantest pillow on which to rest my mind, and the quickest restorative to healthy spirits.

To the time in Australia belong the *Sermons*, published in 1842. Prefixed is a General Preface of sixty-six pages on 'Preaching', a fine and thoughtful piece of writing, appealed to more than once in these pages. The conditions are portrayed under which these sermons were preached:¹

In the old court-house at Sydney; in an old barn at Windsor; in an assembly room at Bathurst; in the police court of Maitland; in a public house on Patrick's Plains; in a room of the hospital of Liverpool; in the police court of Campbelltown; in the public inn at Appin; in a merchant's store at Adelaide: in all these places there were churches and priests when he wrote in 1842. The scene at Parramatta is drawn in detail: The old gaol, which was used as a guard-room, the soldiers turning out on the lawn whilst the priest officiated; our only light, except from the wavering and flickering candles on the altar, came from the opening of a wooden shutter into the free air, which gave the priest a prospect of a busy tavern over the way; our only music was the incessant noise of chains, and the oaths and mutterings of the iron-gangs lodged beneath us. When the priest turned to the people he saw nothing but darkness, and was unable to distinguish beyond the nearest line of countenances and the Rembrandt-like light that shot across the gloom from a distant door.

Prefixed to each sermon is a brief introduction explaining the circumstances in which it was first preached and indicating the sources from which its thought was derived—always the Fathers and the great French preachers, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon. It is on record that he used to declare that in preaching to the convicts on the darkest sins of human nature, he was never so effective as when he was almost literally translating from the Fathers. The indebtedness of these sermons to St John Chrysostom is so great that he says, had the greater part of them been given to the public under his name 'their title would have been almost as near the truth as that which ascribes them to their present author.'²

The most famous of these sermons, the most famous and permanently effective sermon that he ever preached, is that entitled 'The Drunkard'. He preached it many times up and down Australia, at a time when, as he puts it, the Colony

¹ P. 63.² P. 62.

was 'reeling with drink'—it is on official record that in the year 1834 'throughout the whole of New South Wales the annual average of spirits for every human being in the Colony had reached four gallons a head.'¹ Ullathorne bears witness that by 1842 a great change in this matter had come over the face of the country. The sermon was printed various times in Australia, first in 1834. He once preached it in a public-house, the publican saying they 'would take anything from his Reverence.' He says St Chrysostom is the original of most of it, also St Basil; but it may be doubted whether these Fathers ever preached with the almost Zolaesque realism of such passages as the following :

See the drunkard begin, but watch him till he ends his career of intoxication. He has sat at table; he has filled his cups; he has invoked the companions of his guilty joy. His mirth has maddened into riot, then fevered into criminal passion, then lowered into obscene drivel, then sunk into stupor. He has uttered folly, and thought it wisdom; he has profused curses where he should have uttered blessings; he has poured out filth, and mistaken it for wit; the Christian has now left the scene, and human nature is fast following him; reason fades away as folly grows more boisterous; the madness of folly glides off too, and stupidity remains the only companion of drunken insanity. The room reels; the table moves; the man has fallen away, and a beast lies in his place. And even this brute is dead, all but the throat and belly, and these are sickly.'

An old soldier's comment was : 'The gentleman who wrote this must have drunk very hard in his time.' Again :

Take in hand the cup of delusion anew; and with your eyes upon the consequences, however appalling, 'drink! Why then should you startle? The white bubbles that float on the top of the cup—they are only the tears of your wife. Drink on! You have drained her happiness. Take the gloomy cup anew. Do you begin to hesitate once more? The drops look red—they are only the blood from your starved and neglected children. Drink then, drink on! You have already drained their poor veins to utter impoverishment. But now you *must* take the cup, for alas! it is no longer the cup of choice, but the cup of habit; no longer the cup of enjoyment, but the cup of punishment; no longer the cup of sweet delu-

¹ Report of Parliamentary Committee, 1838 (see next chapter).

sions, but the cup of necessity. The cup has lost its charms and the draught its enchantments; from the mere force and necessity of habit you go on drinking its accumulating compound of miseries. It is thus that at last God punishes the sinner with his sins.

Our modern refined ears may shrink from this and think it bad taste. But we have to remember the men to whom and for whom the sermon was preached. There could be no mincing of words; it had to be terrifying if it was to be effectual: and it was effectual in Australia, and in Ireland, and in England too. Fr Mathew in his great temperance campaign in Ireland valued this sermon and distributed 20,000 copies of it; it has been printed again and again in England, and it still lives: produced again in 1897 as a Catholic Truth Society tract, it has had a never flagging sale, reaching 30,000. It is estimated that the total circulation has exceeded 80,000; and, strangely enough, in 1887 an Italian translation was published at Milan. One wonders how it was put into Italian!

Another sermon of the same character, and intended for the same audiences, is that on 'The Evil Tongue', also said to be based chiefly on Chrysostom. It was composed at the request of the Colonial Secretary, whose practice it was to read the sermon on 'The Drunkard' every fortnight to his convict servants; he hoped that a companion discourse on profane and foul language would prove equally forcible in remedying these evils. 'The Sinner's Delay' is another powerful appeal, based on Tertullian, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Salvian.

Quite different in character are the sermons on 'The Penitent', 'The Love of God', and a Christmas sermon, all drawn from the fountains of the Fathers. There is in all these sermons a massive eloquence, an inspiring earnestness, a vigorous and unsparing denunciation of sin, and a winning appeal to the love and service of God, such as characterized Ullathorne's preaching and writing on religious subjects throughout life.

It seemed right to round up with these sermons the account of the pastoral activities in Australia. We may now pass on to the quite special work for the convicts.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONVICTS (1832—1840)

THIS chapter records what was, in some aspects, the great achievement of Ullathorne's life, the part he took in the abolition of transportation and the whole convict system. The subject may best be introduced by the 'Preliminary Observations' to the tract *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, written at sea and published in England in 1837:

These few pages, dear reader, will give you some little information respecting the lot of the transported convict, and the labours and wants of the Australasian Mission. They appeal to the heart of every Catholic in the United Kingdom.

If I am asked my motive for writing and means of information, I answer, as to my means of information, that for five years I have conversed, and almost lived with the convict. I have often received him on his arrival in New South Wales; I have thrice visited him in Van Diemen's Land; I have attended him in his barracks; I have followed him through every district of the country to his place of assignment; I have collected him from the ploughing oxen in the fields, from the sheep wandering in their vast tracts, and from the wild cattle in their distant runs. I have been familiar with him in every township and on every highway; I have celebrated the mysterious rites of our religion in the bark hut, beneath the gum tree in the valley, and on the blue mountain's top, which the white cloud covers. The daughter of crime has burdened my ear with her tale of folly and of woe; the dark-faced man has come to me, in his dress of shame and clanking fetters, from the degraded iron-gang; the sentenced criminal has wrung my heart, filling my eyes, in the cell of death. I have twice sailed with him to that last region on earth of crime and despair, Norfolk Island. He has confided himself to me, like a brother to an afflicted brother, and has poured his whole soul into my breast.

As to my motive, I have but one on earth. It occupied me years before I was permitted to follow it. It has taken me

round the world; it has induced me to return to my mother country now, for a time; it, alone, will persuade me to return. This is my motive—the reformation of the convict.

If I am thought bold, consider my cause. Sixty thousand souls are festering in bondage. The iron which cankers their heel, corrodes their heart; the scourge which drinks the blood of their flesh, devours the spirit of their manhood. They are cast out for purification, and they are infinitely worse than when their country threw them away. To these we are yearly adding above six thousand more. Would to Heaven the common error were removed, and the poor people knew the bodily sufferings and the moral horrors, which, at those remote extremes, await the helpless convict, now blind to his fate.

We have been doing an ungracious and an ungodly thing. We have taken a vast portion of God's earth, and have made it a cesspool; we have taken the oceans, which, with their wonders, gird the globe, and have made them the channels of a sink; we have poured down scum upon scum, and dregs upon dregs, of the offscourings of mankind, and as these harden and become consistent together, we are building up with them a nation of crime, to be, unless something be speedily done, a curse and a plague, and a by-word to all the people of the earth.

The eye of God looks down upon a people, such as, since the deluge, has not been. Where they marry in haste, without affection; where each one lives to his senses alone. A community without the feelings of community; whose men are very wicked, whose women are very shameless, and whose children are very irreverent. Whose occupation has been, and is, as that described by the prophet of sorrow, 'to steal, to murder, to commit adultery, to swear falsely.'

The naked savage, who wanders through those endless forests, knew of nothing monstrous in crime, except cannibalism, until England schooled him in horrors through her prisoners. The removal of such a plague from the earth concerns the whole human race.

Strong, even intemperate, though this language seems, the indictment of the system of transportation is amply borne out by the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1838, of which more anon.

Let the visit in 1834 to Norfolk Island come first. The story is told in *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* (pp. 36-44), and repeated in the *Autobiography* (pp. 95-108), in somewhat amplified form. Of this experience he says:

'My memory fills with sensations of horror, mingled with consolations, such as perhaps few have experienced.'¹ The picture of the natural beauties of Norfolk Island, drawn in the *Catholic Mission*, and reproduced in the *Autobiography* (p. 96; cf. *Pioneers* I, 171), is an effective piece of descriptive word painting; but for the sake of economizing space it is not given here.

At the end he writes :

This earthly paradise was the spot selected for the entombment of the worst criminals from amongst the transported felons of New South Wales, and the scenes that should have served to ennoble men's thoughts, witnessed the deepest moral degradation. Earth's most magnificent verdure waved over a putrid sink of vice and wickedness and misery such as can hardly have had a parallel in the history of the human race.²

What follows is probably the most striking episode of Ullathorne's life :

In the year 1834 a conspiracy was formed among the convicts in the penal settlement of Norfolk Island to overmaster the troops and take possession of the island. A larger number than usual pretended sickness, and were placed in hospital for examination. Those employed at the farm armed themselves with instruments of husbandry, and the gang proceeding to their work were to turn upon the guard. The guard was assailed by the working gang, those who had feigned sickness broke their chains and rushed to join their comrades, but the men from the farm arrived too late. In the skirmish which ensued, one or two men were shot and a dozen were dangerously wounded, of whom six or seven died. A great number of men were implicated in the conspiracy. A Commission was sent from Sydney to try

¹ *Catholic Mission*, p. 36.

² Lest this language may be thought extravagant, compare Judge Burton's: 'The picture presented of that place to my mind was of a cage full of unclean birds, full of crimes against God and man, murders and blasphemies and all uncleanness.' Another witness: 'It is by nature a paradise adorned with all the choicest gifts of nature; by art and man's policy turned into an earthly hell, disfigured by crime, misery, and despair' (*Pioneers*, I, 175, 179). Judge Therry: 'The inhabitants consist of a *populus virorum*, the misery and horror of which condition is shocking to contemplate' (*Reminiscences*, p. 18). Fr McEncroe, who went to Norfolk Island as chaplain in 1837, calls it 'this terrific receptacle of crime.'

them, and thirty-one men were condemned to death. After the return of the Commission, the Governor sent for me, told that a new Commission was about to proceed to Norfolk Island, that there were several men to be executed from the last Commission, that he had engaged an Anglican clergyman to go for the occasion, that I should oblige him if I also would consent to go, and that we should receive hospitality at the mansion of the Commandant.

The Judge had reported that one of the condemned men broke out in the most moving and passionate exclamations and entreaties that he might not die without the benefit of confession. 'Oh, your Honour, as you hope to be saved yourself, do not let me die without seeing my priest. I have been a very wicked man indeed, I have committed many other crimes for which I ought to die, but do not send me out of the world without seeing my priest.'¹

Norfolk Island is a thousand miles from Sydney, and the voyage took a fortnight. No priest, no clergyman, no minister of religion, had ever before set foot on the island. Ullathorne's narrative continues:

All who have seen Norfolk Island agree in saying that it is the most beautiful place in the creation, but it is very difficult of access. There is no harbour, and the only approach to the settlement is by boats over a bar in the coral reef that girdles the island, and which can only be crossed in calm weather. If the weather is unfavourable for landing at the settlement, the vessel must proceed to the opposite side of the island, and there put off a boat, which lands the passengers on a ridge of rock that is slippery with wet seaweed. We had to adopt this last course on the present occasion.

Reflecting in my own mind that this was the first time a clergyman had ever visited the island, I resolved to be the first to land, for which I had grave reasons, which will appear directly. We were told to be ready to jump one by one, as the boat approached the rocks, as the oars would be at once reversed to prevent the boat being staved by the rock. I got into the stern sheets and sprang the first, when back went the boat. The Commandant was there at the head of a company of soldiers, drawn up in honour of the Commission. Before anyone else had landed, I walked straight up to him, and after paying my respects, asked leave to go at once to the prison where the condemned men were confined. I requested

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 180.

to be furnished with a list of those who were to be reprieved and of those who were to be executed. These were kindly furnished me, as they had just reached his hand from the vessel. I then asked how many days would be allowed for preparation of the poor men who were to die; and after kindly asking me my thoughts on the subject, five days were allowed. A soldier was then appointed to guide me to the prison. We had to cross the island, which was about seven miles long by four in breadth. The rest of the passengers, when landed, proceeded to Government House.

And now I have to record the most heartrending scene that I ever witnessed. The prison was in the form of a square, on one side of which stood a row of low cells, covered with a roof of shingles. The turnkey unlocked the first door and said: 'Stand aside, sir.' Then came forth a yellow exhalation, the produce of the bodies of the men confined therein. The exhalation cleared off, and I entered and found five men chained to a traversing bar. I spoke to them from my heart, and after preparing them and obtaining their names I announced to them who were reprieved from death, and which of them were to die after five days had passed. I thus went from cell to cell until I had seen them all. It is a literal fact that each man who heard his reprieve wept bitterly, and that each man who heard of his condemnation to death went down on his knees, with dry eyes, and thanked God.

Among the thirteen who were condemned to execution three only were Catholics, but four of the others put themselves under my care. I arranged to begin my duties with them at six o'clock the next morning, and got an intelligent Catholic overseer appointed, to read at certain times under my direction for those who could not read, whilst I was engaged with the others. Night had now fallen, and I proceeded to Government House, where I found a brilliant assembly, in strange contrast with the human miseries in which my soul had just been steeped. It may seem strange to the inexperienced that so many men should prefer death to life in that dreadful penal settlement. Let me, then, say that all the criminals who were executed in New South Wales were imbued with a like feeling.¹

I spent the first week in preparing the men for death, and inquiring into the condition of the convicts generally. This took me daily from six in the morning to six at night. [In his account in *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* he says that 'during the five days permitted for preparation they

¹ This fact is attested by Judge Therry, Judge Burton, and various witnesses at the Committee of 1838.

manifested extraordinary fervour of repentance.'] Then came the executions. The Commandant had received orders that all the convicts, to the number of two thousand, should witness them. As he had only three companies of infantry, some contrivance was required to prevent a rush of the convicts on the troops, as well as to conceal their number. Several small but strong stockades were erected and lined with soldiers between the scaffold and the standing ground of the convicts, whilst the rest of the force was kept in reserve close by, but out of sight. The executions took place half one day and half the next. One thousand convicts divided into two bodies were brought on the ground the first day, and the other thousand on the second day. Thus all passed off in tranquillity. I had my men put together in one cell and executed in one group, whilst the Protestants were executed in another. My men asked as a special favour, the night before, to be allowed some tobacco, as with that they could watch and pray all night. This indulgence was granted.

When the irons were struck off and the death warrant read, they knelt down to receive it as the will of God; and next, by a spontaneous act, they humbly kissed the feet of him who brought them peace. After the executioner had pinioned their arms they thanked the gaolers for all their kindness, and ascended the ladders with light steps, being almost excitedly cheerful. I had a method of preparing men for their last moments, by associating all that I wished them to think and feel with the prayer: 'Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Lord Jesus, receive my soul.' I advised them when on the scaffold to think of nothing else and to say nothing else. The Catholics had a practice of sewing large black crosses on their white caps and shirts. These men had done so. As soon as they were on the scaffold, to my surprise, they all repeated the prayer I had taught them, aloud in a kind of chorus together, until the ropes stopped their voices for ever. This made a great impression on all present, and was much talked of afterwards.

As I returned from this awful scene, wending my way between the masses of convicts and the military, all in dead silence, I barely caught a glance of their suspended bodies. I could not bring myself to look at them. Poor fellows! They had given me their whole hearts, and were fervently penitent. They had known little of good or of their souls before that time. Yet all of them had either fathers or mothers, sisters or brothers, to whom they had last words and affections to send, which had been dictated to me the day before. The second day was but a repetition of the first.

Then came the funerals, the Catholics at a separate time from the Protestants. A selected number of the convicts followed each coffin to the most beautiful cemetery that the eye of man could possibly contemplate. Churchyard Gully is at some distance from the settlement, in a ravine that opens upon the sea, being encircled on the land side with dark thickets of manchineel, backed by the bright-leaved forest trees, among which lemon and guava trees were intermingled. Beyond there the ravine ascended and was clasped in by the swelling hills covered with wild vines and grapes. Above all was a crown of beautiful trees, beyond which arose Mount Pitt to a height of 3,000 feet, covered with majestic pines of the kind peculiar to Norfolk Island. Arrived at the graves, I mounted a little eminence, with the coffins before me and the convicts around me; and being extraordinarily moved, I poured out the most awful, mixed with the most tender, conjurations to these unfortunate men, to think of their immortal souls, and the God above them, who waited their repentance. Then followed the funeral rites. So healthful was the climate, that all who lay in the cemetery had been executed, except one child, the son of a Highland officer, over whose tomb was the touching inscription in Gaelic: 'Far from the land of his fathers.'

After the executions I devoted the rest of my time to the convicts, instructed all who came together for the purpose, and got a man to read to them, whilst I heard about two hundred confessions. Many of them had not seen a priest for some twenty years, others since they had left their native country.¹ I had also duties at the military barracks, where I said a second Mass on the Sundays. As the Commandant was much engaged with his despatches for the returning ship, his wife, a most kind and accomplished lady, on my return from my long labours, seeing me worn and exhausted, used to have horses and a groom in readiness, and rode with me herself through the beautiful island before dinner. She saw that my burden was heavy, and wished to give me a diversion. I shall never forget the extreme kindness of these excellent people. They saw their other guests in the course of the day, but I could only see them in the evening. The hospitable dinners and social converse at the large evening

¹ In the *Catholic Mission in Australasia* he describes the work of these days: 'During the week still allowed before the departure of the ship, twenty conversions followed, and one hundred and fifty general confessions. I left books behind me before departure, arranged a form of prayer for their use on Sunday, and obtained the appointment of one as reader, whose duty also it should be to teach those to read who were unable, in the intervals between labour and food.'

parties, however agreeable, completed my exhaustion; so that one night, towards the end of my visit, I arose in a state of extreme sickness, with my spine as cold as an icicle. However, I rallied the next day and completed the work before me. But when I got on board the vessel I was in that state of exhaustion that the powers of my mind were completely suspended, and I felt little beyond the sense of existence. If I took a book up I could see the letters, but not the sense, and moved as in a dream. By the time, however, that we reached Sydney, in the course of some fourteen days, my powers had gradually returned. It was not merely the mind, but the feelings, that had been greatly drawn upon.

My last act before leaving the island is worth recording, as an example that the most desperate men ought not to be despaired of. The Commandant at breakfast told me of a case that gave him a great deal of solicitude. Among the convicts was one who was always in a round of crime or punishment. He was one of those who had been reprieved, and yet was already again under punishment. I asked if he were a Catholic. He thought so. 'But how can I see him? we are just about to sail.' 'If you will see that man', he said, 'I will send a message on board that they are not to sail until I have been on board: and I will send you notice at the last moment.' I found the man chained in a cell with three others, and I asked him to come out awhile, as I wanted to speak with him. He was a tall, strong-built man, and I saw he was one of those proud spirits that would not seem to cave in before his comrades. I told him the turnkey would take off his fetters if he would only come out. He replied: 'Sir, you are a kind gentleman, and have been good to them that suffered, but I'd rather not.' I turned to the others and said, 'Now, men, isn't he a big fool? You would give anything to get out of this hot place; but because I am a priest, he thinks you will take him for a softy, and chaff him if he talks to me. I have got something to tell him, and then he can do as he likes. He knows I can't eat him. What do you say?' 'Why, sir, you are such a kind gentleman, he ought to go out when you ask him.' 'And you won't jeer him as a softy because he talks with me?' 'Oh, no, sir.' 'Well, take off his irons.' I wanted to get him into a private room, but he would not go out of eyeshot of the other men, and nothing could induce him. I did not like to shut the door on them, lest it might be taken for a trick. I said: 'Let's go into the turnkey's room.' No, he would not. So we walked up and down the yard, with a sentry on each side a short distance off. I found he was a Catholic, made an

earnest appeal to his soul; but he held himself stiff, and I seemed to make no way. A sailor came up: 'Anchor short hove, sir. Governor waiting in the boat.' I felt bitter: it was the first time I had found a soul inaccessible. I threw up my arms, looked him full in the face, and poured out the most terrible denunciations upon him for neglecting the one opportunity of saving his soul; for I never expected that he would have a chance of seeing a priest there again.¹ But though I did not know it until fifteen months afterwards, his heart was changed. As soon as I left he asked to be put in a cell by himself, got a turnkey, who was a Catholic, to lend him books, and became a new man. In going on board I said to the Commandant: 'You must not mistake that man. There is nothing mean about him. He would not tell a lie. Under other circumstances he would be a hero. But if he says he will thrash an overseer, he will do it. And if the man resists, he will kill him.' The hint was taken. After a time one chain was taken off him, then the other. And on my return, after fifteen months, I met him smiling as he worked among the flowers in the Government garden; and he proved most useful among his fellow convicts. He ultimately got his liberty, and became a respectable man.

The editor of the *Autobiography* adds a telling note to the above incident. 'As Dr Ullathorne was in the act of penning [thirty-five years later] the above lines, a letter reached him written by the very person referred to therein, and relating his subsequent history. After alluding to the last occasion on which they had met, the writer went on to say that after recovering his liberty he had settled in another colony, where he had gradually risen to a position of some eminence, and was bringing up his family in various professions. He had remained faithful in the practice of his religion, and acknowledged all the happiness of his changed life as due to the impressions he had received from Dr Ullathorne.' I, too, heard the Bishop relate this.

Returned to Sydney, Ullathorne wrote to Bishop Morris, October 23, 1834:

I am just arrived from a voyage to Norfolk Island, a distance of 1,000 miles, where I have been attending the execution of thirteen unfortunate men, who with others conspired

¹ I have heard the Bishop describe this scene: 'He was a big man and I am a little one; but I stood up to my full height and threatened him with the curse of God if he would not repent.'

to take possession of the island, of whom three were Catholics and four others converted; as also striving what lay in my power by the gifts of grace for the welfare of 400 Catholics who are reconvicted in that modern Gomorrha. I heard about 200 general confessions and received twenty converts, and might have done more had more time been given me. The authorities begin now to join in my anxiety to have a priest stationed there.

Some fifteen months later, December, 1835, Ullathorne again spent a fortnight on Norfolk Island:¹

At the close of 1835 I again visited Norfolk Island in company with a special Commission, consisting of judge, lawyers, and a military jury. I was received with joy by my former penitents, most of whom had persevered in their resolutions, and had stood to their religious practices despite the ridicule of their companions. Nearly sixty of them had learnt to read their prayers. The Commandant, whose hospitality I again enjoyed, assured me that crime had considerably diminished, and to my delight I found that for the fifteen months that had passed since my first visit, there was not a single Catholic brought before the judge.

I admitted the former penitents to Holy Communion; and during the fifteen days that we remained on the Island three hundred confessions and twelve conversions were the reward of my labours. The penitents, now become the majority of the Catholics, petitioned to be placed in separate wards, that they might say their prayers together.

It will not be surprising that one of the objects of his solicitude while in Europe was to secure a permanent Catholic chaplain for Norfolk Island; he had himself volunteered,² but the Bishop judged that in the conditions of 1836 the priests in New South Wales were too few to allow of anyone being spared. In England he at once approached the Government, and without difficulty secured the appointment of a chaplain.

At Sydney also the attending executions was one of the duties of the priests, and Ullathorne took his share of it. The following is from the *Autobiography* (p. 91):

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 156. By error 1836 is printed; but he was then in England. The evidence at the Committee shows that the second visit was in December 1835.

² Evidence before Committee of 1838, question 289.

Two men, after their condemnation, were sent by sea to Newcastle, to be executed on the scene of their crimes. It was for beating an overseer to death in the midst of a chain-gang employed in making a breakwater. One of them, though not a Catholic, applied for a priest, and I went with them a distance of about seventy miles from Sydney. On arrival at the gaol at Newcastle I was told by the Governor of the gaol that the Protestant chaplain particularly desired to see me. I thought it singular, because, though a stranger to me, he had recently written an attack upon me in a Wesleyan magazine. On his entrance he was embarrassed, and told me that as he had to attend one of the men, and this kind of duty was new to him, I should greatly oblige him if I would give him some guidance what to do. I gave him such hints as I thought would be useful to the poor man, and he left me with thanks. The execution was to take place early next morning on a promontory, upon which a lofty scaffold was erected, that it might be visible to a thousand men, forming a chain-gang. These men were dressed, as usual, in alternate brown and yellow clothing of frieze, were all in irons, and were guarded by a company of soldiers. The execution took place soon after sunrise, because the Deputy Sheriff and executioner had afterwards to proceed up the river to hang some blacks. I was therefore very early at the gaol. We had to walk with the condemned about a mile across sandhills to the scaffold, and it was blowing a furious gale of wind from the sea. The Anglican clergyman again wished to see me. He asked what I should do on the way and on the scaffold. I told him that my poor man was well instructed, that on the way I should repeat a litany which he would answer, and I should occasionally address words to him suited to his state. 'Very good, sir; and what will you do on the scaffold?' 'The man', I replied, 'is well taught to offer his life to God for his sins, which he will do with me in the words I have taught him. And when the executioner is quite ready for the drop, he will give me a sign, and I shall descend the ladder and pray for his soul.' 'Very good, sir will you; please to walk first with your man?' 'Certainly.' He followed in a nervous condition, and when we reached the scaffold, each knelt at the foot of a very tall ladder. The wind blew tremendously and sent my ladder down. The ladders were then tied, and I mounted first. A thousand faces, marked with crime and dull with bondage, were turned upon the lofty scaffold; in the rear stood the rigid troops, rifles loaded and bayonets fixed. The scaffold shook in the wind, and I had to put one foot against the framework and

to hold the man from being blown off, speaking to him, or rather praying with him, whilst the executioners made their preparations. The young man was bent on speaking to his comrades below, but I would not let him; for such speeches at the dying moment are commonly exhibitions of vanity. He obeyed me, I pressed his hand, and he was cast off. After all was over, I walked back with my Anglican friend, who said to me: 'Sir, this is a painful and humiliating duty. Had I known that I should be subject to it, I should never have taken Orders.'

Everyone in reading these narrations of Ullathorne's ministrations to the most criminal of the convicts must needs be struck by the power of the Catholic sacramental system in working a real conversion in the souls of these desperate men when in face of death, and making them ready to go before the Face of their Judge in sentiments of 'fervent repentance'. It struck all at the time, and, above all, the convicts themselves; and Ullathorne declares it to be 'a fact that two-thirds of the Protestant criminals sought the aid of the Catholic priests after their condemnation to the gallows',¹ as four of those on Norfolk Island had done to himself. The Protestant Archdeacon issued a pamphlet, explaining that this was due to the 'soothing ways of the priests' and the fascination exercised on criminals in their last hours by the system of confession.² There was also some sneering at these 'foot-of-the-gallows conversions': the sneerers forgot one conversion, of a thief, who, not at the foot of gallows, but on it, was received to repentance by the Master, who came to call not the just, but sinners, to repentance. Assuredly the power of helping criminals to make their peace with God, and to die in sorrow for their sins and in the love of God, is not a bad mark for a religion, but a good one.

Ullathorne pictures these conversions in the stirring appeal for priests with which the *Catholic Mission* closes:

I have known men who, though death awaited them, and all the moving mysteries of religion were displayed before their faith, yet felt themselves hard and insensible as the iron

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 91; Fr McEncroe similarly states that of forty-five non-Catholics condemned to death in a particular period, twenty-two sought his ministrations and died Catholics.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

that bound them; but they felt it as a torture of the soul, from which they strove and prayed deliverance in vain. Were these men impenitent? Yet how could the world have comprehended their repentance? Could you but see those dark-browed men, when we recall to them their innocent years; when we oppose their sufferings with the Passion of Christ; when, unfolding the mystery of grace, we show them that, with this world and its hopes vanished, all is far from being lost; could you but mark the fixed gaze—the tremble—the long sob—the tear, frozen since infancy, bursting down the furrowed cheek of clay—the hard-clasped hands—the shudder, as some great truth comes forth—the prostrate form, the glowing face, the fervent prayer—you would confess in them the power of grace, the will broken of its stubbornness, the heart subdued. Oh, who will give them of those apostolic men, who dwell beneath the shadow of the cross, and preach nothing but its excellencies; who will go forth under the banner of the bleeding King, insatiable of suffering; who will seek no rest but when they bring peace; and who will count their wealth in the number of rescued souls?

But let me conclude—rest I am not allowed; for wherever I go and whatever I do, the voices of these wretched men follow me. Their shrunken forms gather round me, an army of distress reproaching my delays. The stagnant gaze from the interior—the dissolute features from the factory—the red glare through the sunken eye of the barrack—the down-bent dejection of the iron-gang—the swollen head raised from the death-cell floor, repressing the bursting heart—the shame-sunk female from her destroyer, bowed down with memory—the palsied head, white with age, but without reverence, from the asylum—the haggard despair from Norfolk Island: their spectral forms gather round us like a forest of humanity blasted by the visitation of God. Oh! remember the human lot, and have pity! The presence of Christ is amongst them; His wounds and His agonies bleed anew; He calls on you for help.

Short of the executions, the ordinary ministrations to the religious needs of the convicts formed the principal care and duty in the life of Fr Ullathorne, as in that of Dr Polding and of all the priests. The continuous and strenuous nature of this ministry has been sufficiently set forth in the preceding chapters, and need not be reinforced here: it was their life. We now pass on to the great campaign of Ullathorne's life, to mend the convict system by ending it. And first, in

order to appreciate the greatness of the achievement, in which a very prominent share must be credited to him, and which wins for him a foremost place in the honourable band of social reformers who have determinedly fought against and overcome hideous evils, some picture must be drawn of the abominations, physical and moral, of the system of transportation as it existed in actuality. It is hard to realize, even to imagine, that only a hundred years ago such things were being done by the English Government under cloak of the English law. But Ullathorne bears witness that he found little was known in England concerning the condition of the convicts when he started his campaign in 1836.

The outlines of the picture will be drawn principally from Ullathorne's own writings, but his statements will be corroborated by independent witnesses, as Judge Therry, Bishop Polding, and the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1838. Ullathorne stated the case as he saw it in the two pamphlets, *The Catholic Mission in Australasia* (1837) and *Horrors of Transportation* (1838), in the Report to Propaganda (1837) and in the evidence he gave before the Committee, February, 1838.¹

There were, in 1835, 30,000 convicts in New South Wales and 20,000 in Van Diemen's Land. The convict was by law literally a slave. The law (5 Geo. 4, c. 84) 'gives to the Governor of a penal colony a property in the services of a transported offender for the period of his sentence, and authorizes the Governor to assign over such offender to any other person' (Report of Committee, 1838). The Report speaks freely and frankly of the convicts as 'slaves'; for instance: 'Transportation undoubtedly is much more than exile; it is slavery as well; and the condition of the convict slave is frequently a very miserable one.' The assigned convict was at the mercy of the master to whose service he was assigned, practically without appeal and without redress. Ullathorne and the others bear witness that there were humane masters who cared for the bodily well-being and the moral

¹ The pamphlet, *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, is reproduced almost in its entirety by Cardinal Moran, *History*, pp. 152-68, and by Fr Birt, *Pioneers*, in various places, especially I, 272-7. The Report to Propaganda is practically the same.

reformation of their convicts; but all were agreed that such were the exceptions, few and far between, and that the great majority of the free settlers and emancipists cared for nothing except to get the utmost of labour out of the convicts, and treated them with a brutality that would be thought incredible, had not the Committee held it to be irrefragably proved.

The assigned convict received regulation rations of food and clothing, but no wages for his work—hence his value to the free settlers. For any kind of insubordination, shirking work, idleness, neglect, abusive language, disorderly conduct, he was liable to summary conviction by any single magistrate (afterwards two), and to be sentenced to the chain-gang, to Norfolk Island, or, more usually, to receive fifty lashes. Ullathorne describes these floggings:¹

The incentive to industry and good conduct is the lash. This is the favourite and most frequent punishment. Where a master in England finds fault, the master in Australia threatens the lash; where the master here grows angry, the master there swears, and invokes the lash; where here he talks of turning away, there he procures the infliction of the lash; for idleness, the lash; for carelessness, the lash; for insolence, the lash; for drunkenness, the lash; for disobedience, the lash; wherever there is reason, and wherever there is not reason, the lash. Ever on the master's tongue, and ever in the prisoner's ear, just as he himself urges his drowsy bullocks, sounds the lash!—the lash!—the lash!

A little free licence, and next a hot word or a hasty check draws out expressions which the overseer considers insolent and insulting to his dignity: he let himself down, and now fears the consequence; angry words follow; the man is reported, taken before a magistrate; authority must be supported; presumption lies always against the prisoner; the case is summarily decided; the hideous triangle is displayed with its gory associations; the man is stripped and hung up; the scourger comes forth from the place in which he hides himself from the scorn of men; he deliberately displays his brawny strength, grasps his scourge, draws his clotted fingers through the tangles of its many knots; the nine detested thongs descend, and after a fiftieth repetition, each deliberate in preparation and swift in its cutting stroke, the man is taken down. And now he is disposed to be really insolent; he has been stung by the eye of every onlooker; he feels his degrada-

¹ *Catholic Mission*, p. 22.

tion; he knows that a word, had it been listened to, might have explained all; his brows burn; shapes that he dare not encourage flit across his mind; he recklessly commits some new offence, is again hung up—a few strokes remove the slough with which nature has shielded his former wounds, and now the wiry cords suck and eat their fill of the flesh and gore of the wretched man, whilst bleeding, writhing, swaling—but let me spare the sickening scene. The fiend now fills him with red visions of vengeance, and he either murders his overseer—a common crime—or takes to the bush, where, finding nothing on which to subsist, he lives on plunder; is taken up; and I generally find such men, so treated, in the end, either in an iron-gang, in the death cell, or in Norfolk Island.

Judge Therry's witness may be invoked:¹

After describing the impression which the natural beauty of Sydney made on him the evening of his arrival, he goes on: When, however, day dawned in Sydney, the delusion of the evening was dispelled. Early in the morning the gates of the convict prison were thrown open, and several hundred convicts were marched out in regimental file, and distributed amongst the several public works in and about the town. As they passed along—the chains clanking at their heels—the patchwork dress of coarse grey and yellow cloth marked with the Government brand in which they were paraded—the downcast countenances and the whole appearance of the men, exhibited a truly painful picture. Throughout the day one met bands of them in detachments of twenty yoked to waggons laden with gravel and stone, which they wheeled through the streets.

These were painful scenes, but to the pain they caused was soon added a thrill of horror, by a scene that I witnessed a day or two subsequently. In an enclosed yard of the barracks flogging was administered. A band of from ten to twenty were daily at one period marched into this yard to be flogged. As I passed along the road about eleven o'clock in the morning there issued out of the prisoners' barracks a party consisting of four men, who bore on their shoulders a miserable convict writhing in an agony of pain, his voice piercing the air with terrific screams. Astonished at the sight, I asked what this meant, and was told it was 'only a prisoner who had been flogged, and who was on his way to the hospital'!

¹ *Reminiscences*, p. 41.

As a lawyer, Therry was shocked at the indefiniteness of the offences liable to be punished by such fearful tortures—‘insubordination’, he says, ‘might mean anything: a refusal to do double work; a hasty word; a look of dissatisfaction, or of constructive disrespect’;—at the irregular and casual procedure of the summary courts; at the levity with which such sentences were passed, and their ruthlessness; and, above all, at the kind of ‘magistrates’ armed with such powers. The sentences he declares were frequently ‘in violation of all justice, reason, and humanity.’¹ The Report of the Committee states that in a single month in 1833, 247 convicts had been flogged, receiving an aggregate of 9,784 lashes. The following are specimens of the police magistrates’ reports of these floggings, from several cited in the appendix to Ullathorne’s *Catholic Mission*:

‘Drunk and disorderly’, 50 lashes. This was an old offender, had been flogged repeatedly; this was the first time that he had been punished with the regulation cat; he belated at every lash and writhed with agony; his back was very much lacerated, and much blood appeared; when taken down he cried like a child.

‘Neglect of duty by feigning sickness’, 25 lashes. Had received 50 lashes last Monday week; was sore from the last punishment; blood came at the first stroke; he screamed dreadfully at every lash, the blood running freely from the old wounds; he lost much blood.

‘Absconding’, 50 lashes. Appeared to suffer much, bled freely, and fainted after the punishment.

‘Drunk and making away with a part of his dress which was given him by his master’, 50 lashes. This man was never flogged before; he cried out at every lash; the skin was lacerated at the twelfth lash; the blood appeared at the twentieth; this man suffered intense agony.

Judge Therry declares that, of the many bushrangers whom he tried, there was not one who had not been subjected to repeated scourgings.

Flogging was the normal out-of-hand punishment for everyday offences; much more severe was condemnation to work in a chain-gang. These convicts were worked on road-making

¹ *Reminiscences*, ch. III.

and other public works in heavy chains, under a military guard. Ullathorne speaks of them in various places :¹

You are doomed, your heels loaded and cankering with heavy irons, to work on the hot and dust-hurling roads until your flesh is burned to a copper, and your hair is scorched as yellow as the jaundice. I have known them at work the whole day long under a broiling sun, with a hot wind blowing all day. They are fettered with heavy chains, harassed with heavy work, and fed on salt meat and maize bread. Their existence is one of desperation. The countenances of these men are shocking to behold.

In his evidence before the Committee he relates :

I remember once visiting a chain-gang near Parramatta, on a Sunday, for the purpose of administering religious consolation; and when I came to the gang I found a series of boxes, and when the men were turned out I was astonished to find the numbers that were turned out from each of those boxes. I could not have supposed that those boxes could have held such a number. I found that they were locked up there during the whole of the Sunday; likewise during the whole of the time from sunset to sunrise. On looking into those boxes I found that there was a ledge on each side, and that the men were piled upon the ledges, and others below on the floor, a space of eighteen inches in breadth being allowed for each man.

Judge Therry tells how at a case tried by him in Sydney six convicts were brought from Norfolk Island as witnesses :²

Never can the dismal appearance of these witnesses be erased from the memory of those who saw them in the witness-box. Some of them had been two or three years upon the island. Their sunken glazed eyes, deadly-pale faces, hollow fleshless cheeks, and once manly limbs shrivelled and withered up as if by premature old age, created a thrill of horror amongst the bystanders. They were all under thirty-five years of age. They swore what they knew not of, and cared not what they swore. Of these six or seven witnesses there was not one who had not from time to time undergone a total punishment of 1,000 lashes and upwards. They looked less like human beings than the shadows of gnomes

¹ *Horrors of Transportation*, pp. 10, 22, 23.

² *Reminiscences*, p. 20.

that had arisen from their sepulchral abode. What man ever was or ever could be reclaimed under such a system as this? Happily for humanity that abomination upon earth—Norfolk Island as it then existed—is no more.

At the Committee the question was put to the Chief Justice of New South Wales in regard to the convicts condemned to Norfolk Island, whether it would not be more merciful to burn them alive? He answered, 'I cannot say'; adding that, if it were to be put to himself, he should not hesitate to prefer death, under any form that it could be presented to him, rather than such a state of endurance as that of the convict at Norfolk Island.

A story, half comic, half tragic, told by Bishop Polding adds to the horror of the picture.¹ He had as servant an assigned convict named Paddy White, an old man who was very simple; he had been sent out on a message, and someone gave him a shilling, with which he regaled himself and returned groggy. Instead of coming to night prayers he went upstairs and opened the box in which the Bishop's mitres were kept, and taking two walked off to the town to the principal hatter and tried to sell them as curious Indian caps, given him by the mate of a ship. The hatter guessed they belonged to the Bishop, and sent round for the police. So far the comedy; now the tragedy. The Bishop writes to a friend: 'Master Paddy is in prison; the police had him fast before I knew anything of the adventure. I SUPPOSE HE WILL BE SENT TO NORFOLK ISLAND FOR LIFE, unless I can obtain a mitigation of the sentence.' Ullathorne's story shows that the Bishop's intervention did avert it; but the awful thing is that the horrible fate of Norfolk Island should have been regarded as the probable punishment of a petty larceny by a half-simple, half-intoxicated old man.

Another letter of Dr Polding's, of January 1839, may be cited:²

Yesterday was a most oppressive day on account of the heat. The thermometer rose as high as 143°. One poor prisoner fell down senseless at his work, pulling along a cart of stone. He

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 304; Ullathorne, too, tells the story in *Autobiography*, p. 115.

² *Pioneers*, I, 402.

entreated his overseer in vain to change his work, for he was old and weak; to let him use the spade or pick; in vain. He was carried to the barracks, and died almost the instant he entered. Five others were nearly as bad. Even the *Gazette*, unfeeling as it is, a few days since remonstrated against the cruelty of keeping the men under our hot sun, fed on salt meat, and unprotected, from six in the morning till five in the evening. The Governor has made this law to satisfy the wretched pampered theorists, who maintain that this sort of treatment will reclaim the convict. Would to God they were condemned to endure for one day what their own flesh and blood have been doomed to toil thro' for years. Another monstrous regulation from the same source is that men must remain in barracks six months before assignment, where they become thoroughly steeped and perfected in crime. These theorists are the ruin of the world. With respect to this poor man. He finished his general confession with me on Saturday last, received the Holy Communion on Sunday morning, was confirmed in the evening. I celebrated Mass for him this morning in the presence of the prisoners, whom to the number of 110 we have this week in retreat, and made them a little exhortation on the occasion. Poor creatures! never was the wish of the prophet uttered with more sincerity: 'May my last end be like unto his—and I care not how soon when once prepared'! This I believe was the sentiment which pervaded the whole assemblage. His death, it was evident, was quite a subject of envy to the survivors. It was happy, I trust.

The case of the female convicts was especially deplorable. The Findings of the Committee on this subject could hardly be reproduced. But a letter of Polding's sufficiently paints the sad case of the women; and there were many of them transported from Ireland for slight offences, or none at all. He writes in March 1839:¹

The good the nuns are doing is incalculable. The Factory, or Penitentiary, under their zeal is becoming an altered place. We are giving it a thorough cleansing. Each week I, with one or more clergy, pass two days in it, hearing the general confessions of those whom the Sisters have prepared. This has been our Lenten duty. We have heard about 400 general confessions since we began. After we have thus placed them, as we trust, on a secure footing, we hand them over to Dr Ullathorne, whose immediate duty it is to attend to them. . . .

¹ *Pioneers*, I, 406.

Now we have reason to hope that the same good effects which have resulted from pursuing the same plan in regard of the male prisoners on their landing—effects perceptible and acknowledged throughout the Colony—will be made visible in the reform of the unhappy females, who hitherto have not been so trained, for we had neither time nor place nor proper persons to attend to them. Yet I fear not. It is impossible for pen to describe the dangers to which the unfortunate female convict is exposed in this country. Her reform is almost hopeless. Bad as the Factory may be, I would infinitely prefer her remaining there to her assignment to private service. There, too generally, master and man, bond and free, alike conspire to overthrow her good resolutions; and the fatal bait, a glass of liquor, the pretence whereby she has so often forgotten for a time her degradation, is at hand. The men we can fence about and protect: the women are too generally the hapless victims of the most hateful system of slavery the world ever beheld: a system could not be possibly devised more directly adverse to moral reformation.

In the first draft of the *Autobiography* Dr Ullathorne wrote:

The poor Irish girls through being assigned to wicked masters were exposed to great perils, especially in lone country places. I recall one poor girl who had hard conflicts to protect herself, and like many others, she knew well that any appeal to a Court would only bring ridicule, perhaps punishment, upon herself. She was a really simple-hearted modest girl, and in telling me her troubles she said with great naïveté: 'Whatever did they send a poor harmless girl all this way over the world for, to learn wickedness! It was only for receiving a stolen goose from a lad, and I didn't know it was stolen!' Another poor girl was never safe from her master's importunities even in her kitchen, and she kept a carving-knife near at hand when he was about, to protect herself with; this knife she had to take in hand more than once.

Saddening confirmation is to be found in Dr Polding's Report to Propaganda, 1842, that sometimes the 'insubordination' for which female convicts were consigned to the Factory for punishment was 'for not consenting to a criminal course.'¹

The facts had begun to become known in England, and in

¹ *Pioneers*, II, 25.

1835 a Committee had been set up by the House of Commons to go into the case. In November 1837 another Select Committee was appointed 'to inquire into the system of Transportation, its efficacy as a punishment, its influence on the moral state of society in the penal colonies, and how far it is susceptible of improvement.' Dr Lingard, the historian, had read *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*, and sent a copy to the Chairman of the Committee. As a consequence, in January 1838 Ullathorne received a summons to give evidence at the Committee. His examination-in-chief took up the whole of February 8, and on the 12th took place a shorter explanatory examination. His evidence covered 176 questions, and fills twenty-two pages of the Blue Book. It was recognized that on the moral side of the workings of the system he would be able to give more valuable evidence than the other witnesses; yet on this point he had at first certain scruples: ¹

Sir W. Molesworth, the Chairman, invited me by note to a private interview. He had my pamphlet before him, and tried to coach me up as to the best way of giving evidence. When we came to one embarrassing point, I told him it was doubtful whether I ought to speak on it. He pulled up his head, gave me a menacing look, and said: 'Do you know how grave would be the consequences of your refusing?' I looked into his eyes whilst replying: 'You have read that book, and ought to know I am not a man to be talked to in that way.' He tried to laugh it off, and I said to him gravely: 'At present I have conscientious doubts whether I ought to speak on that subject. I will consult some of the best theologians and act on their advice.'

Accordingly he wrote to his theological adviser, Dr Brown, still Prior of Downside: ²

I have received a letter from Sir W. Molesworth, Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry into the efficiency, etc., of transportation, putting a series of questions, and asking whether I should object to be summoned to give evidence. Now I have read the Report already published—about 1,000 pages folio—the horrors brought forward by the parties examined, with all of whom I am acquainted, completely throw my statements into the shade; yet as to their general accuracy I can attest. I see clearly that they have not yet got hold of the right thread

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 138.

² *Pioneers*, I, 193.

of ideas, viz., the effect of the system upon the mind and feelings of the prisoner and the specific result in his moral habits; nor have they got anything satisfactory about Norfolk Island. I believe my being examined would be of very great advantage as well to our cause as to the giving correcter views of the workings of transportation: but a thought strikes me. My knowledge on the subject consists of generalizations from my experience, and that experience is as much, if not more, derived through the confessional than through any other source. It is true I know nothing of all this as connected with individuals. Particular facts and persons drop out of my memory forthwith; yet I shall be of course pushed up to the sources of my knowledge when examined. It is utterly impossible for me to separate in my own mind the results and sources of my experience, and to use that only derived from common observation. Will you oblige me with your views on that subject, and your advice for my guidance, as soon as possible. I shall wait for them before I give my answer. Have you received my pamphlet? A second edition of 1,500 copies is in great part gone, and the printer has in preparation a third.

The original draft of the Autobiography records Dr Brown's advice as having been that 'when my knowledge was general and not associated by direct remembrance with personal communications in the confessional, I might speak my knowledge for the public benefit.' On this advice he acted, and at his examination he gave his evidence on the most painful topics with complete frankness, but with perfect discretion. He describes himself before the Committee:¹

Being in a new position, full of matter, and, like a young soldier for the first time under fire, somewhat excited, I spoke with such rapidity that I had to be repeatedly stopped, that the reporter might be able to record the words.

After questioning him on the external workings of Transportation, whereon Ullathorne's testimony bore out what had been said by other witnesses, the Chairman made a formal solemn appeal to him to disclose, as he knew them, the moral abominations inherent in the convict system. After citing a passage from *The Catholic Mission*, the Chairman made the following appeal:

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 139.

Now it is my painful duty, as Chairman of this Committee, one of whose chief objects it is to inquire into the moral state of the penal colonies, to call upon you to give a full and clear explanation of the meaning of the passage I have just read; and I am convinced that no false delicacy on your part will induce you to withhold the information which you have been placed in a position to obtain; and you must perceive, I think, that you will perform your duty as a priest, and render an important service to the community, by unfolding the horrors to which I have referred, in order that, convinced of their magnitude and extent, the Committee may be induced to make the most strenuous efforts to amend that system which had produced such enormities.

Ullathorne replied: Before I enter into the subject, I beg leave to state that it was intimated to me that I should be examined on this subject; I have seriously considered the subject, and I beg leave particularly to state to the Committee that it is only a hope that something will be devised for preventing such horrible crimes, which will induce me to say anything at all upon the subject. I have gone through a great deal of pain and torture of mind in consequence of the horrors that I have witnessed in the Colonies, and particularly in the penal settlements, and I have such an intense conscientious feeling upon that subject, and of the results of those evils, in the thorough breaking up of the moral man, which ensues from the crime, that I would do anything that is lawful; I would even deliberately give my life, if I could in any manner lawfully contribute towards the removal of that evil.

It would be impossible to reproduce this evidence: he speaks of the long voyage out, lasting four or five months, two to three hundred men herded together, without any classification in accordance with their offences, with nothing whatever to do all day long except to indulge in conversation of the most obscene and corrupting kind; of the mixing of boys with the men—he speaks of a ‘very young boy who could not be more than ten or twelve at the most’; of the convict barracks at Sydney, and the case of better-disposed convicts in the barracks, such as those transported from Ireland for political offences.

One such, a very respectably conducted man, declared he went every night to the barracks with the greatest horror, in consequence of the scenes and sights which constantly occurred there. Many men have come to me a day or two

after they have been in the barracks absolutely heart-broken. The scenes of that kind have been exceedingly harassing which I have witnessed; those men who have been rather accidental criminals than habitual (and there is a considerable class of prisoners of that kind from Ireland, many of whom pass through my hands) have expressed to me, in a manner which has completely harrowed my soul, the sufferings that they had to undergo from the conduct of the other prisoners. Many of those simple-hearted men will kneel down to say their prayers, as they have been accustomed to do before they go to bed; and they say the canvas bags of the men and their caps and their clothes are thrown at them, and they are flung down and abused and insulted and trampled upon.

He portrays the moral evils arising from the system of assignment and inseparable from it, on the men, and still more on the women; but also on the families of the settlers. Whether as a deterrent from crime or as a means of reformation, transportation has been proved a complete and disastrous failure:

I believe that hitherto it has utterly failed as a means of reformation; I speak generally; there are cases of reformation, and some that I have known; but, speaking of it generally, I should say it has utterly failed as a means of reformation. I believe it might be materially improved, but still not so much as to make it a thoroughly efficient means of reformation. Still, I think that so long as the system of assignment continues, and so long as the prisoners will necessarily be subject to the caprice arising from that cause, there can be no efficient system.

The Report of the Committee was unmistakable and drastic:

Your Committee having in the preceding pages of their Report discussed the nature and effects of Transportation, and what alterations can be made in the existing system, now consider that they have submitted the most unquestionable proofs that the two main characteristics of Transportation, as a punishment, are inefficiency in deterring from crime, and remarkable efficiency, not in reforming, but in still further corrupting those who undergo the punishment; that these qualities, of inefficiency for good and efficiency for evil, are inherent in the system, which therefore is not susceptible of any satisfactory improvement; and, lastly, that there belongs

to the system the curious and monstrous evil of calling into existence and continually extending societies, or the germs of nations, most thoroughly depraved. Your Committee, therefore, are of the opinion that the present system of Transportation should be abolished.

And the first of the final series of Resolutions runs :

That Transportation to New South Wales, and to the settled districts of Van Diemen's Land, should be discontinued as soon as practicable.

Public opinion was at last thoroughly aroused. As the *Edinburgh Review* expressed it: 'When the veil was lifted by Sir W. Molesworth's Committee, the people of England stood aghast at the sight of the monster they had created; and for very shame the system was abandoned'—yet not at once. So far as New South Wales was concerned, the last convict ship arrived in 1840; but transportation to Van Diemen's Land went on for ten years more, the whole flood of British crime being poured into Hobart Town, so that the little colony had 30,000 criminals on its hands. Then was there talk, in view of the convict congestion in Van Diemen's Land and of the shortage of labour in New South Wales, of recommencing transportation to Australia. The final scenes are spoken of by Dr Ullathorne in the *Autobiography* (p. 176) and in the thoughtful tract *On the Management of Criminals* (p. 11), written in 1866.¹ The following account is combined from these two sources :

At the prospect of the recommencement of transportation, the colonists were thoroughly alarmed, and in 1850 a great league was formed in New South Wales, which resolved : 'That the inundation of feeble and dependent colonies with the criminals of the parent State is opposed to that arrangement of Providence, by which the virtue of each community is destined to combat its own vice.' Ullathorne comments :

It is with deep interest that I look back to this wonderful revolution in Australian opinion. For one of the uncalculated results of Sir W. Molesworth's Committee was to arouse a storm of anger in New South Wales at the revelations that had been made in England. And as public indignation,

¹ A paper read before the Academia of the Catholic Religion, London.

when it is deep and loud, invariably demands a victim, I was selected for that function. [It is the fact that his evidence was among the most damning of all, and that he agitated publicly.] Selected as the scapegoat for all the offenders, on me the whole fury of the colonists was concentrated. And it must be recollected that among them were a large number who, or whose parents, had themselves been convicts—a circumstance that did not tend to diminish the conflagration that was raging. Alone I endured the biting tempest. Not one friend had courage to stand by my side or near me. Should anyone look through the files of Sydney papers for the years 1838 and 1839, he will be astonished at the bitterness and the perseverance of that onslaught, and at the shameful things imagined and imputed. But if you ask the motive which drove this persecution on, that belongs to the history of the transportation system. It was laconically expressed by a settler, who came and accosted me on board a Parramatta steamer, in these words: 'Sir, we can never forgive you. For what you said was the truth. They will take away our convict labour, and we shall all be ruined.'

However, time brings great lessons. And when thirteen years afterwards citizens and settlers, emigrants and emancipists, assembled by tens of thousands on Sydney Park, a hundred thousand people, to proclaim with one voice the convict system an abomination and a pollution of the land which must be got rid of at all costs, and recorded a solemn vow that never again should a convict ship defile their shores, they were reminded, amidst their enthusiasm, how they had treated one then far away for having helped them towards their present conclusion. And then that vast multitude made an honest reparation, and there arose three cheers for the old advocate of their new views.

The comment is characteristic: 'Such is opinion, that queen of the world who has so often to reverse her judgments!'

CHAPTER V

COVENTRY
(1841—1846)

AS was stated at the end of Chapter III, Bishop Polding and Dr Ullathorne sailed from Sydney for Europe on November 16, 1840. The incidents of the journey, interesting enough, are related in chapters XVIII and XIX of the *Autobiography*, but are passed over here. They went first to New Zealand, where they stayed a couple of weeks with the French Marist missionaries. From New Zealand they sailed to Chile, and while passing the island of Juan Fernandez, Ullathorne thought of the hero of his boyhood, Robinson Crusoe. They landed at the port of Concepcion, their intention being to ride across the Continent and take ship at Buenos Ayres. Owing, however, to a civil war then raging, they had to abandon this idea, and take passage in a French whaler bound for Havre. They reached England at the end of May 1841, and Ullathorne proceeded without delay to Ireland, to Maynooth, in order to secure recruits for Australia from among the students just going to be ordained. He was invited to give the ordination retreat, and was allowed to expose the needs of the Australian mission, and a number offered themselves. The Bishop followed him, and together they travelled through the south of Ireland. They visited the Trappist Monastery at Mount Melleray in Waterford, and went on to Cork, where Fr Mathew, the Temperance Apostle, then in the heyday of his great campaign, was glad to welcome the writer of the sermon on 'The Drunkard', of which he told them he had distributed 20,000 copies. A General Election of the old-fashioned kind, one of the first after Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Act, was going on and they witnessed some stirring scenes. On their return to England in the late summer Bishop and Vicar General separated, and after some correspondence wherein

he sought to persuade Ullathorne to return to Australia, the Bishop finally wrote saying that their official relations were at an end. Ullathorne at once sent in his resignation to the Colonial Office and retired to his monastery at Downside. He was set to teach in the school, but in a short time he was called out by the President of the English Benedictines, and placed in charge of the mission at Coventry.

A digression is necessary. The mitre destined inevitably to descend was already hovering over Dr Ullathorne's brow. We have seen in his letter of December 4, 1839, that Dr Polding desired to have him as assistant bishop. Before they left Australia it was recognized that Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) ought to have a bishop of its own; and again Polding desired to have Ullathorne for the bishop. This was a contributory cause of his coming to Europe with Dr Polding: he writes:¹

The Bishop showed me a list of names recommended for that office, and I found my own at the head of it. I at once declared that I could not accept of it. I had seen sufficient of bishops, I said, to compassionate them, but not to envy them; and that unless his Lordship consented to remove my name, with the understanding that it was not to be replaced, I should have no resource left me but to return to my monastery in England.

On the voyage home Ullathorne developed the idea of a Hierarchy for Australia, marking out the sees that should successively be set up; these sees are in fact the present archbishoprics. He advocated that they should not be vicariates administered by Vicars Apostolic, as Dr. Polding then was, but that a proper Hierarchy should be created with the Archbishop of Sydney as Metropolitan, and suffragan bishops of the other dioceses with the full status and jurisdiction of territorial bishops. This scheme was accepted by Dr Polding and was duly presented by him to Propaganda on his arrival in Rome at the end of 1841. The business went through with unwonted celerity, and he was able to write early in March that the scheme was substantially approved. On April 9, 1842, the Australian Hierarchy was canonically erected with territorial bishops, and Dr Polding became Archbishop of

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 169.

Sydney. At first there were to be but two suffragan sees, Hobart Town in Van Diemen's Land, and Adelaide in the Colony of South Australia. Before leaving England for Rome, Polding had again tried to induce Ullathorne to acquiesce in nomination for Hobart Town, but without success.¹ And in Rome he still clung to the hope of having him as suffragan, and brought about his appointment for Adelaide. Writing March 7, he says:²

Whether Dr Ullathorne will accept or not, I considered it due to his character, to his services, to his talents and piety, to strongly recommend him. At the same time [as the death of one of the Vicars Apostolic in England is expected, and another Benedictine bishop is likely to be chosen as soon as there is a vacancy] I know no individual in our body so fit as Dr Ullathorne, and in the peculiar circumstances of England I think he would be more efficient there than even in South Australia.

His nomination to Adelaide was duly notified to Dr Ullathorne, but he made no answer. On April 10 and again on May 7 Polding is wondering at his silence; on May 18 he loses patience: 'There is no letter from Ullathorne as yet; what can he be about? Yes, or no, might easily be said.'³

Ullathorne's persistent *nolo episcopari* in regard to any Australian see is one of the phases in his life that has caused surprise and misgiving; he opened his mind fully to his friend Dr Brown, by this time Vicar Apostolic in Wales, in letters preserved in the archives of the Archdiocese of Cardiff, and these letters afford a welcome insight into the conflicting motives that were swaying his judgement. It was on Good Friday, 1842, that he received Polding's letter telling him of his appointment to Adelaide. On Easter Sunday he wrote to Brown:

I certainly did not expect to find my own name opposite the see of Adelaide. I have written to the Provincial [his Benedictine superior] to ask to go for a week and make a retreat before sending my answer to Propaganda. . . . It is pretty certain that my health would soon break down altogether with the intense heat of Adelaide, combined with

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 205.

² *Pioneers*, II, 14.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 36.

the anxieties of one of the most anomalous churches in the world. A colony of Dissenters, bitter enemies of Catholicity : an interior population of naked wandering savages, in constant contact with the brutal cattle-drivers, who have recently shot a considerable number in an affray : not a farthing from Government : 800 Irish labourers the sole flock : not support even for one priest, and no means to raise a church. It is this view which comes upon me and makes me not dare to refuse, until I have prepared myself by a retreat ere I consider the subject. For I dare not refuse so weighty a cross without first considering and praying. It is certain that I should soon sink under it from the state of my constitution. Nor is it a work of a kind that accords with my habits.

It should be explained that, as a later letter to Brown sets forth, according to Ullathorne's own scheme for the formation of new dioceses, that of South Australia was to comprise at first Port Philip (Melbourne) as well as Adelaide, and so would have been a relatively strong diocese ; whereas the arrangement Polding got through at Rome kept the entire Continent under the Archbishop of Sydney, except the little corner of Adelaide, which as Ullathorne put it, was 'as a saucer on a tea-table.' (It should be said in parenthesis that Polding's own inclination was to be Bishop of Hobart Town, for after 1840 the convicts went to Van Diemen's Land—'they gave me my vocation, and to their instruction I feel strongly attached.'¹)

It took Ullathorne more than forty days to come to a resolution. The eight days' retreat was made at the Rosminian house at Loughborough under Fr Pagani. The Benedictine superiors, including the President, his old Prior at Downside, Fr Barber, advised him not to refuse the burden. On Ascension day he wrote again to Dr Brown, his mind still torn with conflicting impulses. He tells him he has obtained permission to go to Rome himself, to lay his case before the Holy See.

I really only wish to do what I ought ; but what can I, or what ought I to do ? My mind is brooding despite of me and my detestable pride makes me miserable enough ; my stomach is affected, and this reacts upon my mind. What can I, or ought I to do ? I wish I were by your side for an

¹ *Pioneers*, II, 9.

hour or two. Do write to me with your usual goodness and candour, and do not spare me the truth.

Brown encouraged the idea of his going to Rome: in his reply Ullathorne speaks of the episcopate as 'a state of life I feel not one single attraction for of any kind.' At Rome he succeeded.¹

I went to Rome, and after an interview with Cardinal Franzoni, the Prefect of Propaganda, I was freed from the appointment to Adelaïdê. At my farewell audience with Gregory XVI, His Holiness told me how much the Archbishop of Sydney regretted that I could not be one of his suffragans, and gave a special blessing to my mission in England. At a later date I learned that an influential English religious had advised Cardinal Franzoni to keep me in view for any vacancy in England; and this explains a letter that I received from His Eminence in the following year, in which he announced that a see had been constituted at Perth, in Western Australia, and offering me the appointment, adding, however, that if I was not inclined to accept it, he wished me to recommend some suitable person for that appointment.

In communicating Ullathorne's release from Adelaide, Polding prophesies, 'Before long he will be, I have no doubt, on the Bench in England.'

It thus appears that during these years Ullathorne refused four proffered mitres in Australia—the assistantship at Sydney, and the sees of Hobart Town, Adelaide, and Perth.

For all that, the ties binding him to Australia naturally were strong, so that the following story will hardly cause surprise.² He was present on October 27, 1842, at the consecration of his friend Bishop Willson for Hobart Town.

After the rite was completed and I was assisting at his unvesting in the sacristy, I said to him: 'Now that the mitre is on your head and not on mine, I have no objection to go out and help you.' He looked up at me and said: 'Are you in earnest?' I replied: 'As long as I am safe from the mitre, with leave of superiors, I am indifferent where I am sent.' He said, 'I shall certainly write to your President.'

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 208.

² *Ibid.*, 224.

Ullathorne had a letter from the President acquiescing, and then the thing stopped. He assisted the bishop in his preparations and bade him farewell, but not a word of explanation escaped from his lips. The explanation was forthcoming a few years later, when Ullathorne was bishop and the two friends were dining together.

Dr Willson told me that he was just going to write for me to the President, when he suddenly reflected: 'Why is this man here? He began the work in Australia, and ought to be there. There may be something wrong.' And knowing that I was intimate with Dr Gentili, he went over to Loughborough to consult him on the subject. They could neither of them explain the mystery, and the doctor said: 'You had better not risk it.' 'But', concluded the bishop, 'I had not been in Sydney two days before I saw through the whole of what you must have gone through, and I only wonder that it did not kill you.'

Bishop Willson soon lamented he had missed the opportunity of securing Ullathorne's services; in 1845 he wrote:¹ 'Do prevail on my little apostle, Dr Ullathorne, to come to this land. He is made for this peculiar mission. Remember, we have all the convicts now.'

Thus it was at the end of 1842 that Ullathorne's tie of ten years with Australia was finally severed, and he settled down to pass the rest of his life in England. He was only thirty-four when he came away from Australia, being already able to look back on achieved works greater in magnitude than those which it is given to most men to accomplish even in a long and well-filled lifetime. He certainly might be cited as an instance of Disraeli's dictum, be it true or untrue, in *Coningsby*, that if a man is to do anything great in life, he begins doing it before he is thirty.

We revert now to Fr Ullathorne's pastorate at Coventry. The story is told in chapters XXII, XXIII of the *Autobiography* and chapter III of the *Life of Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan* (1869). It was in November 1841 that he went to Coventry, then an old-world provincial town of some 30,000 inhabitants, the industries being watch-making, silk-spinning, and ribbon-weaving. The Catholics were

¹ Letter preserved at Downside.

fewer than a thousand. The mission had been in the hands of the Benedictines since 1803. At Ullathorne's arrival things had drifted into an unsatisfactory condition. The following is from his account:¹

I found the mission of Coventry in a desolate condition. The chapel, of no great age, was small and plain, with large cracks in the walls. The house was so small that there was barely space enough in the rooms for a little table and half a dozen chairs. But there was a good school. A previous priest had exerted himself much, and had infused a spirit of piety into the little congregation; but he had been succeeded by one, a good man, but of infirm mind, who, though devout, was utterly incapable of taking care of a congregation. Hence there had been a considerable falling away. But I found them to be a good simple people, only anxious to have the mission restored.

The new pastor, to whom a curate was given, soon pulled things together and restored the spirit of fervour that had previously reigned in the Catholic flock, and also set himself to bring the knowledge of Catholic Faith to many outside the fold. After two months he was able to write, January 30, 1842, that he will be receiving twelve converts shortly, and that he had preached a charity sermon at Leamington; he says also that his book is getting on—this is the volume of Australian sermons, already spoken of (p. 87): 'The General Preface will bite some people.' The book appeared in the middle of the year.

The General Preface is on preaching and the preparation of the preacher. The burden is that the best preparation is the reading of the Fathers on a large scale, in their own writings, not in collections of extracts. The characterizations of some of the principal Fathers, as Chrysostom and Augustine, are telling, and certain great mystics are passed in review. The style is old-fashioned and would be thought nowadays somewhat stilted; but it is a thoughtful and inspiring piece of writing, revealing the inner man as he was after the Australian experiences.

The General Chapter of the English Benedictines, held in the summer of 1842, recognized Ullathorne's merits and worth by conferring on him a titular office that made him a

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 207.

chapterman for life; but he never sat at Chapter, being bishop when the next came round. In the May of this year, as has been related, he obtained permission to go to Rome, in order to beg off becoming bishop in Australia. The journey home, with its adventures, is related at some length.¹ He was back in August, and then began properly the four years' ministry at Coventry, which he ever looked back on as the happiest years of his life.

The first work was to make good the losses of the few preceding years; this was soon achieved, and those who had fallen away were recalled. Then was taken in hand in all kinds of ways, by preaching, by instruction, by visiting and mixing with his people, the work of organizing the mission and consolidating the religion of the Catholics. The Catholics were a simple and devout people, and responded gladly to the zeal of their pastor. In all these efforts Ullathorne was blessed in having a fellow worker whose zeal and piety and organizing power equalled his own; this was the remarkable woman known afterwards as Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan. Hers was destined to be the great spiritual friendship of Ullathorne's life. She came to Coventry, recommended to him by a friend who knew her worth, in May 1842, just before he started for Rome, being in her fortieth year. She had been living for some years in Bruges, and was a Dominican secular tertiary, thus belonging to a confraternity for devout lay folk living in the world under the auspices of the Dominican Order, akin to the more widely spread institute of Franciscan tertiaries. For this reason she was spoken of as Sister Margaret. She acted as Ullathorne's housekeeper, as head teacher in a primary school for girls, as sacristan, and in other capacities.

On his return from Rome, Ullathorne found that she had got together two hundred girls in the school, which she was teaching with the help of monitresses, that she had prepared a large class of First Communicants, that she had acquired a great influence among the young factory women, many of them Methodists, and that she had found out and visited all the destitute of the congregation, and others, too, suffer-

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 210-20.

ing from horrible diseases. With such a helper Ullathorne threw himself heart and soul into the twofold work of pastoral duty towards his flock and of missionary endeavour towards those outside. Evening meetings of Sister Margaret's young women were set afoot in the schoolroom, and after some prayers Ullathorne would give a homely familiar instruction on some point of Catholic belief or practice, or an exposition of a portion of Scripture, or relate the life of a Saint, or explain the ceremonies of Catholic worship. The interest in these conferences gradually spread, and men began to frequent them, and also non-Catholics, both men and women; and thus the way was opened to many conversions. Sister Margaret, accustomed at Bruges to all practices of full Catholic devotional life, deplored the fact that so many of these popular devotions—the public Rosary, May devotions, processions, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament—were so little in vogue at Coventry, or at all in England, the English Catholics having hardly emerged from the long depression of the penal times; and it was greatly owing to her initiative that Coventry under Ullathorne was the first place in England where many of these Catholic practices were introduced.

Ullathorne's attention had soon to be turned to the need of a new church. The existing chapel was poor and mean, and far too small for the rapidly growing congregation; it had been badly built and was threatening to collapse. Accordingly he determined to take in hand the building a new church, of course a gothic one, for the gothic revival under Pugin's inspiration was now in its flowing tide. And not only a church would he build, but a priory, to be the residence of a small community of five or six monks, living their monastic life, and supplying the Catholic pastoral and missionary needs of Coventry and its neighbourhood. A letter of February 14, 1843, seeking to secure interest in the project from the Prior of Downside, utters for the first time what was to be a lifelong idea and desire:¹

I beg leave respectfully to commend to your kind zeal and patronage the proposed church of the Holy Sacrament at Coventry. It is planned with a view to a priory, which

¹ Letter preserved at Downside.

I hope we shall live to see attached, small, of course, to each of our churches in large towns. Thus we may return to our holy institute even on the Mission, and what a force would it not give us! And he hopes that at the opening there will be a full choir of 'habited monk-missioners'.

The architect was Charles Hansom, a young man and Town Surveyor at Coventry. He then had little knowledge of gothic architecture, so Ullathorne took him to visit and study a number of old churches. An Early English style was chosen, and the foundation stone was laid in May 1843. A system of weekly collections in the congregation was organized and thrived exceedingly under Sister Margaret's management. Ullathorne himself went on begging tours in many parts of England. From London he wrote: 'Hitherto begging has been pleasant enough; I suppose I shall find its pleasures diminish as time goes on. I walk some twenty miles a day on the London pavements without any excessive fatigue, because I have nobody to talk balderdash about it at the end.'¹

For the actual structure English models sufficed; but when the time came for interior decoration and church furniture, thanks to the havoc wrought by Puritanism at home, it was necessary to look abroad in order to insure the Catholic tradition. And so Ullathorne took his architect for a tour in Belgium and as far as Cologne to study the best models of Catholic art. On their return at the end of July 1844, he describes in a letter to the Prior of Downside what they had seen and the impressions made on him. The letter has been printed in the *Downside Review* of 1909; it is of interest as his principal utterance in matters of art, and the appreciations are thoughtful and noteworthy; it shows him as an enthusiastic Goth. His interests in Belgium were not merely artistic; he begged for the church and got together a considerable sum of money. Shortly after his return the nave was opened, August 13, 1844; and a year later the chancel was completed and the church consecrated, on September 9, by Bishop Wiseman. 'On the following day all the bishops of England assisted at the solemn opening, which was attended by many of the Catholic gentry of

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 227.

that and the neighbouring counties. In the afternoon a great entertainment was given to the bishops and the visitors in the old Catholic Guild Hall, which was filled with guests.¹

On this occasion Ullathorne wore the full Benedictine habit, the first time it had been publicly worn, indeed worn at all, since the Reformation, for it was not yet worn even in the monasteries. He henceforth wore it habitually in church and house and when preaching abroad. This innovation provoked much criticism from Benedictines and others alike. On being invited to preach in a Benedictine church in Liverpool, he said he would preach in the habit, and was told that another preacher would be found.² St Osburg's must be pronounced a good specimen of the Puginesque gothic revival; to this day it is a pleasing and a fine church, simple and dignified, relying more on architecture than on ornamentation. The priory cannot be considered equally successful; it was infected by the exaggerated pseudo-medievalisms of the period; the rooms are small and cheerless, darksome, badly ventilated, badly heated, exiguous. Three priests can live in it in reasonable comfort; but as a priory for five or six it was a rabbit-warren. Ullathorne has been criticized for leaving a considerable debt behind him on church and house. But he was moved from Coventry to become bishop within a year of the completion of the building. Seeing the money he did raise by begging, it cannot be doubted that had he remained at Coventry he would have cleared the debt in no long time. There was at the time much criticism for building such a church for a congregation in which were no 'respectable people'. Sister Margaret's defence was that the church was built not for man but for God, 'and He is always respectable.'

The opening of the church led to a great burst of Catholicism in Coventry.³

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 233.

² In the printed *Autobiography* (p. 233) it is said only that the church was 'St Edmund's'. But there is no church of St Edmund in Liverpool. In the original draft it is said explicitly to have been a Benedictine church.

³ *Autobiography*, p. 228.

We had now a great deal more space, which soon filled, and at the evening services became closely packed, every standing place being filled as well as the seats. At those evening services I adopted the method of the Fathers and gave expositions of large portions of books of Holy Scripture. I gave lectures on the beginning of Genesis and explained the creation: this drew a number of Freethinkers as well as others. I explained the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans and the Galatians: this drew a considerable number of Dissenters. But I was not so tied to the text as not to expatiate freely on any point of doctrine or moral teaching that the text suggested, after the manner of the Fathers. I found not only that this method was effective in drawing full congregations, but that it led to many conversions. Again:¹ Those were happy days. The growing congregation was united like a family. . . . At the time I was called from Coventry to other work we were receiving converts at the rate of a hundred a year.

In these days was initiated what Ullathorne would probably have pronounced the great work of his life, the formation of the institute of Dominican Tertiary nuns. Sister Margaret had already in Bruges been a secular tertiary of the Dominican Third Order, living in the world. Her lifelong desire was to be a nun, and her thought had been to enter some convent of the Dominican Order, to which she was greatly attached. But Ullathorne discerned in her a woman with all the qualities of a Foundress. The idea of starting a new congregation of Dominican Conventual Tertiary nuns at Coventry was proposed and discussed; two or three of the young women working with Sister Margaret offered themselves as recruits; Ullathorne was prepared to father the undertaking by making himself responsible for it, obtaining the necessary ecclesiastical sanctions, and supervising the spiritual and religious training of the first candidates. All this was successfully carried through; Ullathorne was made Vicar of the Master General of the Dominicans in respect of the new foundation; in June 1844 Sister Margaret and three other postulants were clothed by him, and on December 8, 1845, they were professed. They were Conventual Tertiaries, nuns in the full sense under vows and rule, living in community in austere conditions

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 232.

of life, reciting the Office in common, but going forth for their various good works of charity—teaching, visiting the poor, tending the sick—as do the nuns of the modern active congregations of women. This was the cradle of Mother Margaret's foundation at Stone, the very apple of Ullathorne's eye. It has thriven wonderfully: at her death in 1868 he thus sums up her achievement:¹

Foundress of a Congregation of the great Dominican Order, she trained a hundred religious women, founded five convents, built three churches, established a hospital for incurables, three orphanages, schools for all classes, including a number for the poor. He adds: I cannot close the Preface without giving thanks to God that, in His goodness, He deigned to make me an instrument to co-operate in the work of this great soul, and that I have had the privilege of her friendship and prayers for six and twenty years.

Another phase of the work at Coventry has to be spoken of. Ullathorne was at all times greatly possessed by zeal for missionary enterprise. In Australia this had found ample scope among the convicts. Returned to England, his idea of a Mission was primarily the preaching the Catholic Faith to the non-Catholic masses in England. This lifelong desire first appears in words in the Preface to the Sermons of 1842,² which, as a presage of things to come after half a century of waiting, may fitly be cited:

When will the preachers of the Cross come forth as of old? Those men of prayer—those men of penance—those ardent lovers of God—those patient sufferers impassioned of the Cross? When shall we see them in the midst of us? Moved with sorrow and compassion for a people, who like sheep lie about without pastors; who always seeking and never finding, fill the air with their anxious questionings—they would go forth to the lowly and the poor, and to every spirit that suffers need. How many of our poor countrymen are afflicted and tried, who, ignorant of the treasures that are hidden within the Cross, have not one single consolation in all their anguish? How many souls are without a definite hope? The Apostles waited not for men to come together and build up roofs for their especial accommodation. They went about; the very sight of men moved them and they

¹ *Life of M. Margaret Hallahan*, p. xiv.

² Pp. 58-62.

spoke. . . . The idle curiosity of the attracted listeners is succeeded by respectful attention and awakened interest, and conviction gratefully follows. Whilst we praise the intrepid zeal which animates our distant missionaries, do we in any way forget that here in our own country we have a missionary field as great, demanding exertions as extraordinary and unusual? In this, our beloved country, each man is born to the title of free speech, and nothing is so jealously cherished amongst us as this right. He is privileged to rise up in every place to endeavour to inspire his thoughts into other men, and therefore, as St Paul found the men of Athens, so do we find our countrymen to be always seeking after some new thing. Is there anything more new to the mass of our countrymen, or anything about which they begin to feel more curiosity, than the ancient religion? Which, *we* know, is seldom listened to for any serious time without being embraced by the listener. And what could be more new, or more awakening, than to see her fervid yet discreet apostles going through the length and breadth of the land, and, whilst they leave all men free and without annoyance, as they claim the right to be left to themselves so long as they merely exercise their privilege of free and innocent speech, proclaim to the awakened souls of men the wants they feel but understand not, and their healing remedies? Shall truth alone be delicate and afraid? But in what direction shall we look for the coming of these heroic men? To the illustrious Order of Preachers? Or to the disciples of the younger Society of Charity? Does there still exist in that venerable Benedictine Family, which is so intimately connected with England's Mission, some of that spirit which, under an Augustine, evangelized this land; and which when driven out by 'the great change' could never rest until her children, side by side with so many other generous men, returned to exchange their words of peace for crowns of martyrdom?

Let us pray that these men of divinely kindled hearts may come forth to meet the spirit of this time and the wants of this nation. Leaving the retirement in which they nourish their souls, they will appear amidst the people; their function done, they will retire to replenish their hearts with greater light and a yet diviner charity. Coming forth again, like prophets, from their solitude, the light of truth once spread, their task once done, and leaving to others the care of gathering the fruits of their labours, not stopping to hear even one sound of their own praises from human lips, they will eagerly return into the presence of that God in whom is their desire and content, and to whom alone they

look for their reward. Give us but three such men, and the conversion of England is begun.

No doubt this passage on the kind and method of missionary work needed in England on the part of Benedictines and other Regulars is the one referred to in the letter cited on p. 123, as going to 'bite some people.' Yet it exactly embodies the teaching given to their own monks by St Gregory the Great and St Bernard, as to the manner in which active zeal for souls should be combined with their own contemplative life; and there can be no doubt that Ullathorne's utterance was beholden to theirs.¹ In it we seem to find adumbrated the idea destined to fructify fifty years later in the open-air Catholic propaganda work initiated by the Guild of Ransom and since developed systematically on an extended scale by the Catholic Evidence Guild. How Ullathorne would have welcomed this movement, as giving effect to the ideas put forth by himself so long ago, and now still more necessary even than it then was for the religion of the country, when more than half the people of England do not belong, even nominally, to any form of religion.

At the time of writing, however, the idea took rather the shape of public 'missions', preached in the churches, but open to all comers and appealing to all. Such public missions were then beginning to be given by the modern Italian Congregations of Passionists, Redemptorists, and Fathers of Charity or Rosminians, newly come into England. Ullathorne's appeal in the Preface was the outcome of conversations with Fr Gentili, a Rosminian, a man of truly apostolic zeal. The President of Maynooth wrote to Ullathorne that if he would take on the work of organizing missions throughout England, he would be able to place a dozen zealous young priests at his disposal for the work. Ullathorne replied that his place being at Coventry, he had no thought of organizing such mission work himself, but only of helping others to do it. It was at his instigation that the first public mission in England was given at Not-

¹ See *Western Mysticism*, for St Gregory, passages from the 'Morals' on pp. 221, 222, 232, 234; for St. Bernard, pp. 247, 253.

tingham in 1842 by Fr Gentili at the invitation of Dr Willson, Ullathorne's friend and substitute as Bishop of Hobart Town.¹ What seems to have been the second such mission on a large scale was preached at Coventry by Fr Gentili in May 1845. Ullathorne has described it in the long appreciation of Fr Gentili, contributed to the 'Life'.² It is sufficiently striking to be recorded :

The mission was planned as a protest against the Lady Godiva procession, which in those days was openly indecent, and the purpose was to withdraw the Catholics from participation in it. During the first three days the mission was a failure, very few attending the sermons; but on Sunday, when the entire congregation was assembled, Fr Gentili, on fire with zeal, burst out in such a torrent of remonstrance and affectionate reproof that tears and sobs were heard from every part of the church, and on the day of the procession few, if any, of the Catholics attended it. During the remainder of the mission the church was crowded both by Catholics and by strangers. After the procession Fr Gentili delivered one of his famous discourses on the Mother of God, and concluded: 'You have had the procession of your lady, and now we shall have a procession of our Lady. The one shall expiate the other.' Such a thing as a procession of our Lady had not been witnessed in Coventry, or probably in England, since the overthrow of the old religion. Religious images were still rare in the country, and such expressions of devotion had not yet been revived. But Fr Gentili was not the man to be withheld by any feelings of timidity or human respect, and he found a hearty co-operator in Sister Margaret. With her assistance a bier was prepared, and on it was fastened the image of the Blessed Virgin, adorned with lights and flowers; and when all was ready, and Fr Gentili beheld the spectacle which recalled the practices of a Catholic country, the image of the Virgin Mother, decked with its gala wreaths and surrounded by young girls dressed in white, he was like one in an ecstasy, and poured forth one of his inspired strains of eloquence on our Lady 'the Cause of our joy'. On that and two successive evenings a solemn and beautiful procession was made round the church; the crowds who came to see the sight filled not only the church and churchyard, but even the adjoining streets. So that as the procession

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 223.

² Pp. 327 ff.; cf. *Life of M. Margaret Hallahan*, pp. 111-14; the text is from the latter account.

advanced round the church, Fr Gentili, in his surplice, had to conduct another kind of procession; for under his direction the people flowed on in one continuous stream, from the south through the north door, in order that these multitudes might have a glimpse of those ancient rites which had thus returned to triumph over their profane and modern substitute.

No wonder that when it came, cutting short a ministry so progressive and so fruitful, where all had grown so dear to his heart, the episcopate 'was a great blow' to his feelings.¹

All was going on so well at Coventry, making those the happiest days of my life. The house had just been completed, and I had designed it for a small community of Fathers, hoping to show in the course of time that with the endowment already existing, and with the adjoining population in the colliery district, work and maintenance might be found to support a little community. The Dominican Sisters had been recently professed, and I was looking out for a position at the other end of the city to place them in. Were all these plans to come to an end?

Yet side by side with this there was in his heart another and perhaps deeper train of thought and feeling. He spent Ascensiontide in 1844 at his monastery of Downside, and wrote thence:²

I attend choir, meditate, and think over all that has passed since I left this peaceful and happy abode, and would be glad to remain here always. Everything tells me how much I have lost, gaining in nothing but this poor world's wisdom and conceit, since I left the cloister some fourteen years ago.

The strong lasting hold he had gained in his short ministry on the confidence and affection of his people at Coventry comes out in a letter twenty years later. In May 1865 he wrote to Manning, just appointed Archbishop:

I have just returned from my visitation of my old church and flock at Coventry. They are a simple and a pious people who have gone through great temporal hardships. Poor people, they flocked in upon me in the sacristy when-

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 237.

² Cited in *Autobiography*, p. 234; in first edition the letter is misdated.

ever I was not officiating, from morning till night for three days, with their simple faith, weeping, kissing feet as well as hands, and all wanting some little word to take home and live upon. They are an English people of converts, and yet they have the deep Irish faith, together with the English quality of good works. It has been a feast to be among them.

All through the years at Coventry ran the recurring rumours of the bishopric. Bishop Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, died in July 1843, and Ullathorne was freely spoken of for the succession there, or to Dr Brown in Wales, should the idea mature of transferring the latter to the Western District. Ullathorne's was the name finally proposed to the Pope by Propaganda for the Western District, but Gregory XVI set it aside and appointed Dr Baggs, then Rector of the English College. He was an elderly man and delicate, and he died in October 1845. Again the rumours flew about that Ullathorne would be the Vicar Apostolic, either in the Western District or in Wales. The vacancy lasted an unusually long time, for full six months; and then came to pass that which had long been foreseen as certain by everyone but Ullathorne himself, who consistently said he would evade it.

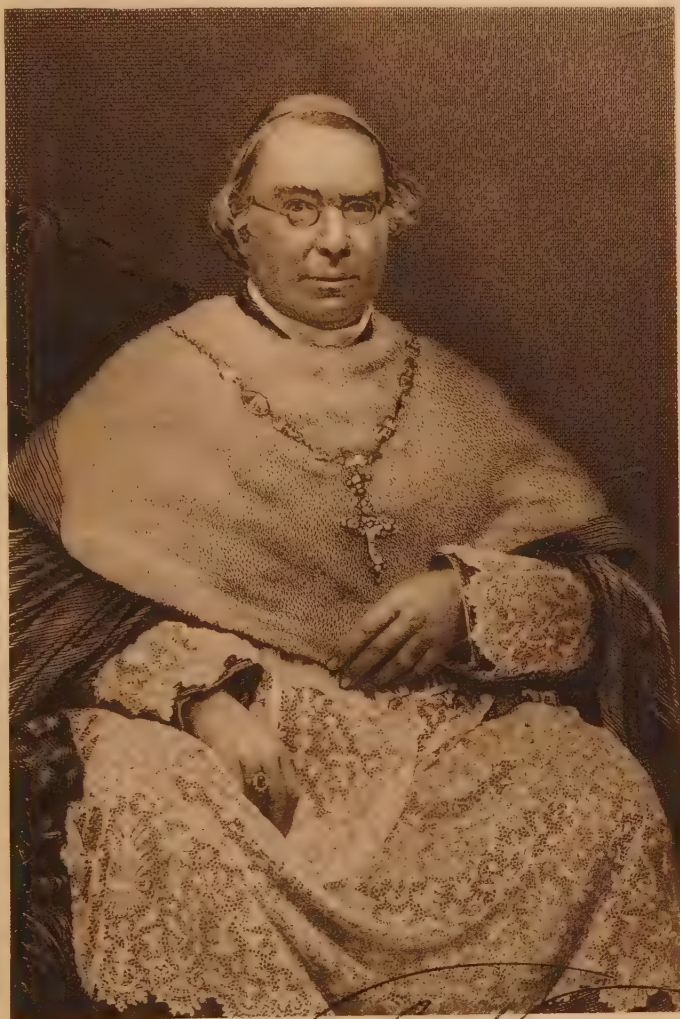
At this point, when Ullathorne is on the threshold of that career on the public stage of Catholic affairs in England, where he was going to play a leading part, at times the leading part, during a period of forty years, it will be in place briefly to picture the state of things Catholic in England as they were in 1846.

The government of the Catholic Church in England by bishops who were not territorial bishops, but Vicars Apostolic, still was in force; but in 1840 the four old Vicariates had been increased to eight. There is no need to speak of the Northern Districts, but those in the Midlands and the South concern us. The Western District has been mentioned several times. It was the traditional practice that its Vicar should be a Regular, Benedictine or Franciscan. Up to 1840 the District comprised the six English counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall,

and the whole of Wales with the four border counties. In 1840 it was divided into two Districts: one still called the Western, consisting of the six English counties; the other Wales. On the division of his District, Dr Baines, a Benedictine, continued Vicar of the former, and Dr Brown, prior of Downside, was appointed to Wales. The heart of the old Midland District, with centre at Birmingham, was made into a new Central District, the Vicar being the aged Dr Walsh, to whom was given as Coadjutor Dr. Wiseman in 1840. In 1847 Wiseman became for a year Pro-Vicar in the London District; and on Dr Walsh being translated there in the following year, Wiseman continued as his Coadjutor until his death in 1849, when Wiseman succeeded to the London Vicariate; in 1850 he became first Archbishop of Westminster. As during the first twenty years of Ullathorne's life as bishop Dr Wiseman was the foremost figure and the dominating personality in the Catholic body in England, it will be necessary to have before our minds some picture of him.¹ Born in 1802 and educated at Ushaw, he proceeded in 1818 to Rome as one of the first group of students sent out to restart the old English College. He passed with much distinction through the course of theological studies, taking the D.D. by a public disputation, and in 1828 he was made Rector of the College. He had already made his reputation with leading orientalists of all countries as a Syriac scholar of the first order. He was also well versed in the Christian archaeology of Rome. He was a many-sided, widely cultured man, a powerful writer, and brilliant essayist, lecturer, preacher, linguist, and a conversationalist of great personal charm. From 1835 to 1840 his residence was divided between Rome and England, where he lectured and contributed a series of telling articles in the *Dublin Review*, founded by him and O'Connell in 1836. In these years he looked on it as his vocation to help on the Oxford Movement, and the object of the articles was to lead the Tractarians towards the Catholic Church; in this they were effective, one on the Donatists giving Newman his first serious shake as to the position of

¹ See *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* by Wilfrid Ward, 2 vols., 1897.

the English Church. The time when Dr Ullathorne was raised to the episcopate was the moment when the crest of the highest wave of the movement had just broken, and Newman and his inner circle of disciples were being received into the Church in numbers. Wiseman looked on it as the beginning of the long desired reconciliation of the English Church with Rome. Such visions were doomed to fade away; but Wiseman's remaining twenty years of life were spent in the endeavour to bring about the fusion of the two elements in the Catholic body—the new element of the converts, with their higher culture, wider outlook, younger enthusiasms, and more progressive ideas; and the 'old Catholics', solidly and austere pious, grown up in narrow circles, insular, still timid from the long penal disabilities, shy of novelties, distrustful of the converts' spirit, and resenting their often aggressive methods of asserting superiority. All this will appear in these pages, for next to Wiseman Ullathorne was, from the old Catholic side, the one who played the chief part in bringing about the final conciliation. The last years of Wiseman's life were saddened by the sense of failure in inducing sections of the old Catholics to respond to his own larger and more generous recognition of the qualities of the converts and the contribution they could make to the well-being and the progress of the Catholic cause. He died while the controversy was at its height; but Ullathorne lived to see the fusion symbolized and crowned in Newman's cardinalate.



N. Card. Wiseman

NICHOLAS WISEMAN
Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster

CHAPTER VI

VICAR APOSTOLIC

(1846—1850)

‘A WORTHY child of Alma Mater is your new bishop-elect, Dr Ullathorne, who is with me accompanied by his credentials. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia!’ So wrote to the Prior of Downside on April 28, 1846, Fr Barber, President of the English Benedictines, himself the Prior of Downside in the days of Ullathorne’s novitiate and early religious life. The previous day Dr Ullathorne had received a letter from Cardinal Acton, the English Cardinal in Rome, announcing his appointment as Vicar Apostolic of the Western District. The Cardinal pressed him not again to refuse the offer of a bishopric, reminding him that in the days in which they were living, the episcopate, especially in England, was more of a burden than an honour. ‘If honours and riches had gathered round the mitre which is now hanging over your Lordship’s head,’ wrote the Cardinal, ‘then perhaps your virtue might find out some motives to allege as a plea of excuse for refusing the offer. But in the present circumstances, my Lord, it is pain, trouble, and labour which are offered to you, and therefore I trust that through love for Christ and His Church, you will immediately accept the burden.’ On receipt of this communication Ullathorne took the first train to Stanbrook, near Worcester, the convent of English Benedictine dames, where Fr Barber resided as chaplain. He ever retained the warmest affection and deepest respect for his first superior and spiritual father;¹ and now in the supreme moment of his life he had recourse to him for advice. He thus laid before this old friend the difficulties and hesitations that beset him:²

¹ See letter written at Fr Barber’s death, 1850, in *Downside Review*, 1891.

² *Autobiography*, original draft.

I knew it was of no use touching on those more interior difficulties connected with the *nolo episcopari*, because observation had taught me that such objections are always construed in a contrary sense. But I put forward the defects in my education, my want of scholarship, and my reluctance to be lifted into a circle in which I knew I should not feel myself free in mind and completely at home. [It was well known there were grave difficulties, financial and personal, to be faced in the Western District.] As to the difficulty of managing a difficult ecclesiastical party, to say the truth, having had some experience of the kind, it was not that which troubled me so much. Being in the vigour of life, presumptuous as it may have been, I did not much shrink from facing things of that kind. Fr Barber spoke to me with the affection of one who had long been my spiritual father, and with something of the authority which that position gives. He represented to me the unsettled state of the Western Vicariate, the prolonged evils that had resulted from it, and the need there was of someone experienced in human affairs, detached from party, cool and decisive in temper, to meet the emergency. He spoke frankly and warmly; and as I said that nothing but an obedience would induce me to accept, he said that, as far as he could, he gave me that obedience. I then knelt down and asked his blessing for the last time; but he said: 'No; henceforth I must ask your blessing.'

That same day a letter was despatched to Cardinal Acton signifying acceptance, and also the following one to the Prior of Downside. After citing the Cardinal's exhortation as given above, he goes on:

After reading this letter before the Most Holy Sacrament, I bent down in submission; not a fibre of my heart would permit me to resist the will of Almighty God and the Holy See. To-day's post conveys my acceptance. Pray for me, dear confrère, and all my dear confrères pray for me and all the District unceasingly; and accept, at this solemn moment of my life, the expression of my deep love and reverence for my Order and for the house of my profession.

In view of the repeated refusals of the episcopate, it is of interest to have this personal account, telling how it was that this time the call came with a power impelling him to so prompt an acceptance.

The consecration was fixed for June 21, at his own church

of Coventry. On June 14 was written the first of the long series of letters to Newman, who with a number of the recent converts, the nucleus of the future Oratory, had just been established at Maryvale, in the buildings of the original Oscott, a couple of miles distant from the new college: 'My introduction to you on Friday last was a circumstance particularly gratifying to my own feelings. I wish to express how much I should be gratified to see you or any of the inmates of St Mary's Vale at Coventry on the occasion of my consecration'; and in the *Autobiography* he records their presence. On Sunday, June 21, 1846, the day on which Pius IX was crowned as Sovereign Pontiff, Dr Ullathorne was consecrated Bishop by the senior Vicar Apostolic, the others all being present, and Wiseman preaching. His title was Bishop of Hetalona *i.p.i.* and Vicar Apostolic of the Western District.

After the ceremony came the parting with his flock at Coventry, a trying scene, as such partings always are:¹

I had next to part with the good and pious congregation which had been so great a consolation to me. I knew them all so well, with all their little histories, and had received many of them into the Church, and few of them had ever caused me any trouble. They presented me with a beautiful chalice, for which they subscribed £40. We parted at a great meeting outside the church, where the chalice was presented, not without many tears; and I promised that I would use their gift at the altar to remind me of them—a promise I have kept for forty years.

The following day the new bishop proceeded to his Vicariate, staying the night at Bath, and going in the morning to Prior Park. A few days later came a letter of congratulation from Archbishop Polding, who had just reached London from Sydney, 'expressing great regret at having arrived too late, as his principal object in coming to Europe was to solicit the Holy See to appoint me to be his Coadjutor in Sydney.'²

When he became bishop, Dr Ullathorne was just forty

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 239. The Ullathorne number of the *Oscottian*, 1886, gives the address of the congregation and the report of the bishop's reply.

² *Autobiography*, p. 242.

years of age. The early months of his episcopate were taken up for the most part with the affairs of Prior Park. It should be explained that Prior Park is a palatial mansion just outside Bath, which Bishop Baines had purchased in 1830, to be the ecclesiastical seminary and episcopal college of the District and the residence of the bishop. For the purchasing and carrying on of this great establishment he had freely used the resources of the District—endowments of missions, and various funds, as bishop's maintenance, clergy superannuation, educational—the capital being sunk in Prior Park, the interest to be paid out of the income derived from the school. Moreover, private persons had lent large sums of money, and there were numerous current debts. A disastrous fire had occasioned heavy extra expenses. The total liability was reckoned at £60,000, and the income had become quite inadequate to meet the interest on this huge sum. The financial position had for some time been generally recognized as extremely grave, if not hopeless, and there is good reason for believing that the anxieties it occasioned had hastened the death of Ullathorne's predecessor in the Vicariate after two years' administration. This Prior Park episode loomed large in Ullathorne's memory, and in the original *Autobiography* he gives a long and detailed relation of the whole business: a relation left out by the editor of the printed *Autobiography*, surely rightly, for the controversy is of no abiding value. It will not be revived here except in outline.¹

The President of Prior Park and Vicar General of the District was Dr Brindle, one of the Ampleforth monks who had thrown in their lot with Bishop Baines and had been secularized, in order to help him to carry out his ideas at Prior Park. As a set-off against Ullathorne's unfavourable picture of Dr Brindle, it is of interest to have the impression he made on Newman. Immediately after his reception, Newman made a round of visits at the principal Catholic educational establishments, and came to Prior Park in December 1845. He wrote:²

¹ Supplementing Ullathorne's own narrative there exists his correspondence, preserved in the Clifton Archives.

² Ward, *Newman*, I, 110.

As to Prior Park, Dr Brindle is a gentleman in the true sense of the word. I do not think it a school of perfection, but of sensible, as well as earnest (for I do think so) religion. In the Bishop's house the whole set-out is gentlemanlike, yet accompanied with the deep impression of religion as an objective fact. I think I should get on well with Dr Brindle and the bursar, Mr Shaddock, who is very like a fellow of Magdalen or St John's, in externals. I was amused at the set-out.

The new Bishop had told the President that he would spend the first few weeks at Prior Park, where his predecessors had resided, but that it was his intention to fix his permanent abode at Bristol, the principal city of the District, and make it the Catholic centre. During the first month at Prior Park he came to the conclusion that the administration was inefficient, and that, if there was to be any hope of extricating the establishment from its difficulties, the staff should be reconstituted. He did not move Dr Brindle from the presidentship, but changed all the subordinate officials, and brought in to renovate the school a number of the recent Oxford converts who had congregated at Bath. Prior Park being the seminary and diocesan college, the Bishop was within his rights in so acting; still Brindle resented these changes made over his head, and took up an attitude of passive resistance. The Bishop's early letters to him manifest the evidently sincere desire to rescue Prior Park from its critical condition, and maintain it in being as seminary and college of the District. But Bishop and President could not agree; they were of antipathetic temperaments, and they represented the two sides in the feud between Bishop Baines and the Benedictines, the wounds of which, in spite of the formal pacification, were still open.¹ At last Ullathorne presented an ultimatum: either the place must be fully under his authority and management, in which case he would take on himself its liabilities and exert himself to the utmost to save it and carry it on as seminary and lay school; or else Dr Brindle must carry it on himself as best he could, as a lay

¹ The story of the episode is told in Bishop Ward's history, *Sequel to Catholic Emancipation*, chs. II, III; also in Fr Almond's *Ampleforth Abbey*, and in the centenary number of the *Downside Review*, June, 1914.

school, the Bishop having no responsibility and not recognizing it as the ecclesiastical seminary of the District. The reason that the Bishop was not able to enforce his wishes, or even his canonical rights, was that Brindle and another, as Bishop Baines's executors, were the legal owners and trustees of Prior Park, and they stood by their legal rights; moreover, Brindle had sunk in the place money of his own to an amount of over £5,000. An unpleasant controversy ensued, and the Bishop came to the conclusion that it was not possible to continue in the office of Vicar General one in open antagonism to himself. The following letter of September 22 conveyed to Brindle formal notice of his supersession:

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I beg leave respectfully to thank you for such services as you have rendered this District in the capacity of its Vicar General.

Having no more occasion for your services in that capacity, as I have previously given notice, you will have the goodness to consider the powers of Vicar General as ceasing on the receipt of this letter.

The letter will seem curt; but Ullathorne had had great provocation; he had been unable to get Brindle to surrender the deeds and archives of the District, or the official papers and letters left by his predecessors, or their effects as bishop, or any financial statement in regard either to the District or to Prior Park. In November he was still writing, complaining that it was the third time he had formally in writing demanded the delivery of these documents, and that after four months his orders were still disregarded, and threatening recourse to ecclesiastical procedure to enforce his rights. The relations between the two men had become so strained that it was impossible for them to work together.

When the Bishop's ultimatum and his intention of washing his hands of Prior Park became known in Catholic circles, it created no small stir, being looked on as a virtual death warrant on Prior Park. Bishop Brown, Vicar Apostolic of Wales and Ullathorne's old friend and adviser as Prior of Downside, wrote protesting strongly against the scandal of wrecking such an institution as Prior Park, and urging that the Bishop should make one great effort to maintain it; he pointed out that a portion of the ecclesiastical funds sunk in

the venture belonged to his District of Wales, so that he had the right to a voice in the matter; and he notified that if Ullathorne persisted, he would appeal to Rome. Bishop Wiseman, too, wrote from Oscott, gently remonstrating, and counselling an urgent appeal to the whole Catholic body to come to the rescue. In regard to Bishop Brown's intervention, Ullathorne says: 'I resolutely planted my foot on the verge of my District and resisted all interference from without.'

Faced with the Bishop's ultimatum, Brindle elected to carry on Prior Park independently, as a lay school, and secured the co-operation of a group of friends who, like himself, had been of the secession from Ampleforth and identified with Bishop Baines and Prior Park. A circular, endorsed by the Bishop, was sent out appealing for help to tide the place over its crisis. In order to assert his authority as Bishop, and also to obtain the information concerning the ecclesiastical funds of the District sunk in Prior Park, which information he considered essential to his administration of the temporalities of the District, Ullathorne had recourse to a formal canonical Visitation of Prior Park. He issued a series of injunctions in matters concerning the chapel and the manner of Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament; but his demand to inspect the deeds and to be supplied with a full financial statement was met with a refusal. On this he announced his intention of reporting the case at Propaganda, and asking for instructions. He set out for Rome in January 1847. He was overtaken at Lyons by an emissary from Brindle, with a letter promising submission if he would return. But he thought it better to proceed. Arrived in Rome he stated the case and asked that an independent Apostolic Commission should be appointed, to investigate the situation, report on it to Propaganda, and formulate practical proposals as to what should be done. This was granted, two of the Vicars Apostolic, along with the President of St Edmund's College, Old Hall, being appointed Commissioners. Ullathorne was back before the end of March, and the Commission sat at Prior Park for a week. They found that the Bishop's visitational injunctions had been disregarded. Being armed with the authority of the

Holy See, they were able to secure a full disclosure of the financial position. They found the liabilities to amount to £60,000, and the total assets, on a liberal estimate, to be only £20,000. They reported very fully, but failed to offer any suggestions as to the line of action to be adopted. After Easter Bishop Wiseman and one of the Commissioners went to Rome, to represent the Vicars in the negotiations then afoot for the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, and they undertook to present the Prior Park Report. It was presented, but not pushed, and so the matter rested, until, as we shall see just now, Ullathorne himself in the following summer again went to Rome as the Vicars' representative in the business of the Hierarchy. Brindle now sent an agent with a formal protest against the findings of the Commissioners and the Bishop's attitude in respect of Prior Park. Neither in England nor in Rome did Ullathorne conceal his view that the place must inevitably be closed and sold up to meet, as far as possible, the creditors' claims. Before he left Rome he was translated from the Western District to the Central, so that the solution of the Prior Park question passed out of his hands. Though there is no evidence, it is hard to resist the surmise that his attitude towards Prior Park may have been one of the considerations motivating his removal to another sphere, for his action was looked on by many in England as unduly drastic, and there was a general desire that Prior Park should be saved if possible. Be this as it may, there exists a letter of Bishop Brown's, of December in the same year, 1848, stating that he and Bishop Hendren (Ullathorne's successor in the Western District) had been instructed by Propaganda to work together in the endeavour to provide for Prior Park. But four months later, April 1849, he wrote again that the effort to raise funds to save Prior Park had failed, and the place would probably be closed.¹ It struggled on until 1856, when the authorities bowed to the inevitable, and the place was closed and sold up by Archbishop Errington, then Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Clifton.²

¹ Both letters in Downside Archives.

² Ten years later Prior Park was repurchased by the then Bishop of Clifton, Dr Clifford, and reopened as seminary and school. It went on for

Before starting for Rome, January 1847, Ullathorne issued an appeal for help for the famine-stricken people of Ireland, then suffering from the calamity of the Great Famine :

REV. DEAR SIR: It has pleased Almighty God, in His mysterious, but ever adorable providence, to visit our brethren of the faith in Ireland with most dreadful visitation. Famine, utter want, cold, nakedness, pestilence—the very bodies of the dead putrefying and corrupting the dying, and neither coffin nor grave for the father, whose corpse breeds death to those to whom he once gave life and support—mothers laying their dying children at the doors of workhouses to secure them a burial, ere their souls have departed—the demon of seduction deliberately stalking amongst them in evil hour, seeking to take their souls from the faith with the bait of a little temporary relief for their miserable bodies—all this, and much more, is but the beginning of this most dreadful calamity.

Can we, Rev. dear Sir, withhold our utmost aid, or fail to stir up the charity of the faithful under our care to aid to the utmost in this overwhelming affliction and distress? Can any of us be so hardened as to indulge in superfluities or luxuries, unneedful for health, whilst our poor unhappy brethren die daily by so many hundreds for want of the coarsest food to eat and clothes to cover them, which some of us cast away without a thought, whilst so many thousands are suffering from the ravening pangs of hunger and the consuming rage of pestilence?

Why has this visitation fallen upon our brethren across the Channel rather than upon us? Certainly not because we have less deserved such a visitation. Is our own visitation but deferred? Let us do our utmost to divert it by our zeal and charity for those whom God is trying. Has eternity come nearer unto them whilst its awful powers are less manifested unto us? Oh, dear Sir, let us, whilst we tremble for ourselves, join our prayers that the God of mercy would deign to shorten the calamity, and sustain all those who are appointed to endure it.

You cannot do better, Rev. dear Sir, than to exhort to this charity in an especial manner during the time of Jubilee; to have a collection made at some suitable but early time in aid of our distressed and starving brethren; to continue to keep

a quarter of a century, till it was again closed by the next bishop. After various vicissitudes it is now firmly established as a secondary school under the ownership and conduct of that experienced and capable body of educationists, the Irish Christian Brothers.

awake the zeal of this charity during the continuance of this calamity; and, with that view, to acquaint yourself with its harrowing details, that, approaching nearer to the dread reality, you may be moved and move others to compassion and to charity.

Taxing as was the contest with the superiors at Prior Park, it did not so engross the Bishop's energies as to make him neglectful of the care of his District. This consisted of the south-western corner of England and embraced six counties. In those days, before the Irish immigration, it was Catholically one of the most backward parts of England. But as Ullathorne remained in it only two years, there is no need to enter into particulars.¹ Bristol was the principal city, where was the largest number of Catholics, and from the first Ullathorne was resolved to fix there his residence and make it, instead of Prior Park, the centre of Catholic government and influence. He at once rented a house in King's Square, and was established in it by the end of August. Though visiting the principal Catholic centres throughout the District, his energies were mainly concentrated on Bristol and Clifton. There were but two Catholic churches, near together, and quite inadequate for the needs of the people. He made a survey and mapped out four districts to be developed into missions with their own churches, as afterwards came about. The providing a large central church that might become the pro-Cathedral when the Catholic Hierarchy, then evidently imminent, should be set up, was a main object of his solicitude. There existed in Clifton the ruin of a large unfinished Catholic church, foundations laid and walls and columns erected to a height of several feet, but abandoned owing to lack of money, and seized by a bank to cover the sums advanced. This site and building had lain derelict for many years, and Ullathorne now repurchased it for £3,000. To finish walls, put on roof, and make the building fit for divine worship, would have cost another £10,000, and this sum Ullathorne by no means had or could hope to find. Besides, the architects declared that the walls in their damaged state could not carry the roof. But Ullathorne had his own ideas; he sent for his old Coventry architect, Charles Hansom, and

¹ The story is told in ch. XXIII of the *Autobiography*.

told him 'that he must put his architectural reputation in his pocket and simply follow my directions, and that I was determined to make a Cathedral of it at a cost of £2,000.'¹ The plan was to place a wooden superstructure on the walls, which, along with rows of wooden pillars, should carry the roof. 'We thus at a small cost converted the ruin into the present pro-Cathedral of Clifton; and we succeeded in defeating the prognostics of the architects, in puzzling the world at large by the odd character of the building, and in establishing a centre for the diocese.' After seventy-five years the structure still stands, and serves its purpose as Ullathorne contrived it. A Bishop's House adjoining was part of the plan, and was erected by his successor.

To help in serving the religious needs of the people it was arranged with the Dominican Superiors that Mother Margaret's community should come into the District, and they were established in a large house next to the Cathedral. A girls' school separate from the boys was started and placed under the care of the Sisters; and under Mother Margaret's initiative all the popular devotions and religious activities of Coventry were reproduced at Clifton. Thus it came about that, attracted by these manifestations of Catholic life, a considerable number of Catholics, especially from among the recent converts of the Oxford Movement, came to settle in Clifton. In this way a definite Catholic colony grew up there, to which is due the series of able, though now forgotten, controversial papers called the 'Clifton Tracts'.

In order to stir up the somewhat stagnant state of religion among the Catholic population of Bristol, the Bishop brought in his friend Fr Gentili to give, in 1847, and again in 1848, a public mission like that at Coventry, the first ever given in the Western District. The second of these missions, in the early spring of 1848, lasted a whole month, and was of great effect in a renewal of spirit among the Catholics; the Bishop declared that it 'began a new order of things in Bristol.' But coming at the end of a year of assiduous mission preaching throughout the country, the prolonged exertions and ensuing fatigue killed Fr Gentili. He died a short time after, to the great sorrow of Ullathorne, who contributed a

¹ Original *Autobiography*.

character sketch and appreciation of his friend in the Life written by his fellow missionary.¹

At this time befell what Ullathorne ever looked back on as 'the most important and most eventful of the labours of his episcopal life'²—the part he was called on to play in the final negotiations at Rome which brought about the setting up of the Catholic Hierarchy in England, whereby territorial dioceses, ruled by bishops with ordinary jurisdiction, replaced the old system of vicariates, introduced in the days of the penal laws. He has himself told the story in full detail in the booklet entitled *History of the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in England* (1871); and Bishop Ward has given a sufficient summary of the business in the *Sequel to Catholic Emancipation* (chs. XXVII, XXVIII). Consequently we may here neglect the diplomatic side and only notice the purely personal features of Ullathorne's part in the story.

The question of the Hierarchy had been mooted at various times during the period stretching back to the close of the eighteenth century, both in England and at Rome, and during the 'forties the idea steadily gained ground that the change was overdue. Ullathorne relates how at his consecration as bishop the resolution formed itself in his mind never to rest until the Hierarchy had been obtained.³ At the first annual meeting of Vicars Apostolic which he attended, Easter 1847, the question came up seriously, and it was resolved that Wiseman and another should go to Rome to press the matter. Their representations prevailed over the obstacles in the way; the principle was accepted that the Hierarchy should be set up forthwith, as soon as the necessary information on matters of detail, as delimitations and names of the proposed twelve dioceses, should be supplied from England. Nothing, however, happened for a year, and at the Easter meeting in 1848 Ullathorne was deputed to go to Rome as plenipotentiary of the Vicars to get the measure through. He started towards the middle of May. It was the Year of Revolutions, and as he passed through Paris he experienced the abortive attempt to set up a Red Republic in place of the

¹ *Life of Fr Gentili*, by Fr Pagani, 1851, pp. 323-37.

² *Autobiography*, p. 249.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

bourgeois Republic established earlier in the year on the resignation of Louis Philippe. He watched the funeral procession of the revolutionaries killed at the barricades; he mingled with the crowd in the Place de la Concorde, while the attempt was made to force an entrance into the Palace of the Corps Legislatif; he looked on at the massing of the National Guard, and the entrance of the army that came to quell the rising; and finally he saw the leaders of the revolution arrested and taken to prison.¹

On this journey he sailed in the same ship from Genoa to Civita Vecchia with the Abate Gioberti, now forgotten, but then a prominent personality in Italian politics and a philosophical writer of much repute as an advocate of the system called Ontologism, a new phase of Platonism, which was making a great stir in those days. He was one of those who, like Rosmini, dreamed of a United Italy by means of a Federation of the Italian States, with the Pope at head as President. On the occasion when Ullathorne met him he was bound on an important political mission.

Nine weeks of negotiation in Rome surmounted the last difficulties in the way of the Hierarchy and secured approval of the scheme proposed by the Vicars. Concerning these proceedings it will be enough to cite Bishop Ward's verdict on Ullathorne's handling of the business: 'He carried it through with marked ability and success. It was due to his tact and the straightforward and businesslike manner in which he conducted the negotiations that we owe the final achievement of the restoration of the Hierarchy.'²

He came away from Rome with assurances that the official documents were in preparation, and that the long-wished-for measure would be carried out at once. But on the very night on which he left Rome the Revolution broke out. It issued soon in the assassination of the Pope's Minister, Count Rossi, in the setting up of the Roman Republic, and the flight of Pius IX to Gaeta. These events delayed for two years more the restoration of the English Hierarchy.

It was part of the arrangement that the senior Vicar Apostolic should be translated from the Central to the London District, so as to become the first Archbishop of West-

¹ *Autobiography*, pp. 252-6.

² *Sequel*, II, 212.

minster, Wiseman to be his coadjutor with right of succession. This created a vacancy in the Central District. As Bishop Ward says, 'To this appointment the Holy See attached great importance, not only because Oxford was situated in that District, but also because it was the centre of so much Catholic activity. The Congregation of Propaganda did not take long in making up their minds that Ullathorne should be translated there.'¹ His letters of the previous months show his own wish to have been that the Western District should be divided into the two Dioceses of Clifton and Plymouth, and that he should remain at Clifton. The following letter, written the very day, relates how this wish was overruled:²

After the first meeting of the Cardinals, Barnabò [the secretary of Propaganda] stated to me that they had decided upon not recommending A. B. [the name proposed by Ullathorne for the Central District]. They felt very much the importance of that District, and he finally added that they wished to place me there, and hoped that for general considerations I would sacrifice my attachment to the West. I then wrote a straightforward letter to Barnabò assigning what appeared to me to be objections to the proposed step. I urged the general ground of my being a Regular, and that that District would expect a Secular, to which they had always been accustomed. I next explained historically and by facts what I considered would alter their judgement of my possessing those qualifications in particular which they looked for.³ Barnabò, though he combated its contents, yet undertook to read this letter to the Cardinals. Barnabò told me last night that, on the recommendation of the Cardinals, the Pope had approved my translation, and imposed it upon me as a *sanctissimum praeceptum* to accept.

He records as follows the transition to the new sphere, where the remaining forty years of his span of life were to be passed:⁴

In leaving Clifton for Birmingham, it was with painful regret that I parted with those of the clergy that had so

¹ *Sequel*, II, 215.

² *Ibid.*, II, 216.

³ In the original *Autobiography* he says he exposed the deficiencies of his early education and the consequent lack of the kind of scholarship needed in one who would have to deal as bishop with the Oxford Movement.

⁴ *Autobiography*, p. 257.

zealously and loyally stood by me and supported me in my difficulties. My plans for Bristol and Clifton were coming into practical shape, and I greatly regretted leaving them unfinished. . . . On arriving at Birmingham, August 30, 1848, I was received by the main body of the clergy of the District in St Chad's Cathedral; Fr Newman and the Oratorian Fathers, who had recently taken possession of Old Oscott, were also present. The clergy dined with me, and Dr Weedall [the former President and builder of the New Oscott] addressed me, in their name, in a beautiful discourse, in which his loyalty and that of his brethren the clergy, to the one appointed over them by the Holy See, was cordially expressed and cordially received; and, what is much more, that loyalty was realized to the letter. At this crisis in my agitated life I found myself placed in a peaceful jurisdiction over a united clergy, conspicuous for their devotion to the episcopal authority. And my difficulties in my new responsibility were not so much of a moral as of a material character.

The financial embarrassments of the District, and the measures Ullathorne took to surmount them, and the long struggle, crowned with final success, to place the temporalities in a sound state, will be spoken of in the next chapter. Here mention need be made only of his action in regard to Oscott, the ecclesiastical seminary and episcopal college of the Central District, analogous to Prior Park in the Western. It is remarkable that, undeterred by the experiences at Prior Park, Ullathorne's action here was as prompt as it had been there. He at once formed the judgement that the finances were in a critical state and the administration inefficient; and within a week of his arrival at Birmingham he wrote, September 5, to the President, calling for a financial statement and the answers to a series of questions. The President, to Ullathorne's grave displeasure, instead of answering, had the paper lithographed and circulated among the clergy, with the view of raising a remonstrance. The Bishop wrote sternly, blaming such procedure, and insisting on the questionary being answered. The President's reply is not extant, but he must have said something of the difficulty of carrying on under such conditions; for, to bring things to a head, the Bishop, writing on October 11, put it to him point-blank in the following words: 'Would you kindly mention

for my guidance whether I am to infer your intention of retiring altogether, as I am incapable of drawing from your letter any other conclusion.' This had the desired effect; the President resigned, and Ullathorne appointed Dr Moore, the man whom he had advocated at Rome as Vicar Apostolic of the District.

The years 1848-50 were the time when friction arose acutely between the two elements that now existed side by side in the English Catholic body, the 'old Catholics' just emerged from the penal times on the one side, and on the other the numerous new converts of the Oxford Movement, with whom stood the Italian priests of the newly introduced modern congregations, Passionists, Rosminians, Redemptorists, and others. The attitudes of the two sections, their complaints of each other, and the adjudicating on the rights and wrongs of the case, is ground that has been traversed very fully by various writers on the Catholic history of the time.¹ Ullathorne's own account, written at the very time, 1850, will be enough here:²

We had some converts, as well as some branches of the old Catholic stock, and a section of the newly arrived clergy from abroad, who gave to their undisciplined zeal a new channel. They took to wondering why the external development of religion in England was not at that moment exactly like that of Italy or Belgium, and why England was not being very fast converted. Ignorant of the circumstances out of which we were emerging, and especially ignorant of the nature of the difficulties with which we were contending with all our strength, it became the fashion to talk these fancies aloud even in the Eternal City. And loudly were both prelates and clergy blamed as men lost to the true sense of their position. With these gentlemen the old clergy, the old orders, the old bishops, everything old in Catholic England, was wrong, nay dead; only things new or freshly imported were living or aright. The Holy See, with its usual wisdom and perspicacity, soon discerned the true state of things. It was a grain or two of truth that had got confounded in a bushel of injustice. But at that

¹ Wilfrid Ward, *Life and Times of Wiseman*, ch. xxiv; Bishop Ward, *Sequel to Emancipation*, ch. xxix; J. G. Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, ch. iv.

² *Life of Fr Gentili*, p. 332.

moment these matters were fermenting and causing some trouble.¹

The converts thought that the old Catholics as a body were in a backwater, stagnating, deficient in education, culture, enterprise, and failing in appreciation of the duty of trying to make the Catholic religion appeal to the non-Catholic masses; and the old Catholics were irritated at the newcomers, whether converts of a day or Italian priests, seeking to instruct them how things should be put right, and introducing foreign ways in practical devotional life, hitherto unusual in England. In this controversy, as in the domestic controversies among Catholics throughout his episcopate, Ullathorne occupied a middle position. By origin and upbringing he was of the old Catholic race, and Wilfrid Ward singles him out as the embodiment of the Challoner tradition among English Catholics at its best: 'Of this spirit, splendid in its thoroughness, its unpretentiousness, its devotion to duty, and its union of sobriety with genuine piety, Bishop Ullathorne was a typical instance.'² Yet was he by no means one of the obscurantists, opposed to all change and objecting to the introduction of Catholic pious practices as found on the Continent: we have seen that in Coventry he was instrumental in introducing for the first time in England such devotions as the public Rosary, processions with the image of the Blessed Virgin, more frequent Benedictions. He had had a principal share in initiating the system of public Missions; and in the Hierarchy negotiations in Rome he had used his influence to get Wiseman made coadjutor at Westminster with right of succession, an appointment vehemently opposed by the more intransigent section of the old clergy, especially in London, it being known that Wiseman stood for the policy of renovating English Catholicism by the infusion of foreign and, above all, Roman principles, ideas, and practices. But while supporting Wiseman in his wider and larger aspirations for making Catholicism a more telling religious force in

¹ He goes on to say that Gentili, at the end of his life, recognizing the injustice, regretted the part he had taken in this agitation; cf. Ward, *Life of Newman*, I, 209.

² *Life of Wiseman*, II, 220.

England, he deplored and resisted what he looked on as the exaggerations and indiscretions of people 'whose inexperience was as great as their zeal.' Foremost amongst these extremists stood Fr Faber, whose programme was to introduce, unalloyed, undiluted, into England everything, not only Roman, but South Italian, in the external manifestations of Catholic piety and practice. On his reception into the Church, November 1845, Faber and a band of fellow converts, his disciples, had formed themselves into a community living under rule; but on Newman's founding the Oratory at Old Oscott, they threw in their lot with him, and in February 1848 they joined the original Oratorian community under Newman as Superior. Thus it came to pass that Ullathorne on arriving in Birmingham found Newman, Faber, and the principal group of Tractarian converts established within his jurisdiction. In these conditions it was inevitable that he should come across Faber, and through Faber Newman. Seeing the forty years of intimate and affectionate relations that were to subsist between the two men, it is striking that Ullathorne's first dealings with Newman should have been a definitely unpleasant encounter. It came about in this way. Since his reception in 1845 Faber had been editing a series of *Lives of modern Saints*, translations from Italian. When the Faber group joined the Oratory Newman was faced with the question whether the Oratory, and himself as Superior, should assume responsibility for continuing the series of *Lives*. Newman was in favour of doing so, but he thought it right to consult the Bishop. Ullathorne shared the view commonly held by the old Catholics, that these Italian *Lives* were unsuited for English consumption, Catholic and Protestant alike; and he advised a change in the manner of producing the *Lives*—that they should not be mere translations of the Italian originals, but should be written afresh, on the model of the *Lives of the English Saints*, issued by Faber and others, while Anglicans, under Newman's control. Newman took this as tantamount to a disapproval, and advised Faber that the publication should be suspended. The terms of the circular announcing this, both as to Faber's portion and as to Newman's, were gravely displeasing to

Ullathorne.¹ The matter was complicated by an intemperate attack on the *Lives* in a Catholic magazine, by a priest who was himself a convert, but from Presbyterianism, who brought a charge of idolatry against Faber. The story has been told and the more important documents cited by Bishop Ward (*Sequel*, II, 243-52), by Wilfrid Ward (*Life of Wiseman*, II, 220-5, and *Life of Newman*, I, 206-14), and from Faber's side in *Life and Letters of F. W. Faber* (pp. 342-58); so there is no need to repeat it. Only Ullathorne's principal letters to Newman, already printed in part in the *Life of Newman* (loc. cit.), will be given as illustrations of his mind. The episode opened with a letter of October 10, 1848, wherein Newman asked Ullathorne to ascertain the mind of the bishops on the *Lives*.² On the 31st Ullathorne wrote that the general opinion of the bishops and other leading old Catholic superiors (he mentions the President of the Benedictines, his old Prior and friend, Fr Barber) was that

The spirit of the *Lives* as given in these translations is not adapted to the state of this country. Religious persons and nuns do not find in them a wisdom according to sobriety. By proposing more than the Church proposes, even of the wonders of God in His Saints, we may lay burdens greater than can be borne by weak faith, an act which our Lord avoided doing. Does it do to put prominently forward, and in great quantities, so as to make it a conspicuous portion of our Catholic literature, our extremist teaching, prepared for men full of faith and for the perfect? Has this ever been done in any portion of the Church?

On November 29 he wrote a long 'confidential' letter to Newman; extracts from this letter are given by Ward (*Newman*, I, 212), but the more personal portion of it will be given here in full, for it may well be believed to have been the foundation of that lifelong friendship which coloured so strongly the remainder of both their lives.

A painful feeling had arisen; for under the impression that the '*Lives*' had been stopped by authority, the circular

¹ The circular is given in *Life of Wiseman*, II, 223.

² The correspondence is preserved in part at Oscott, and in part at the Birmingham Oratory.

(announcing their cessation) was thought to betray pugnacity and sensitiveness. The former impression is now removed, but still the sensitiveness of the circular, regarding as it does the lives of the meek and humble servants of God, has widely left a painful impression. Shall I say how this is? It is the manifestation of sensitiveness in holy religious men, personal sensitiveness, the 'blow struck at *me*',¹ for example, in a matter concerning the edification of the world by the lives of those who perfected themselves, in patience by long suffering, in many trials, and whose obedience, so sweet, so tranquil, so humble, knew no touch of bitterness.

My dear Mr Newman, I can with difficulty refrain from tears whilst I write. I love you so much, and yet I feel so anxious for the spirit recently, I think, indicated, a little, to say the least. I know that your lives have been lives of warfare and contest, and that you have had painfully to controvert the authorities under which you were brought up. We have not had that fierce trial. Habits still cling in hidden ways, and will come back unknown to us, in this poor restless nature of ours. Our habits have made us habitually and instinctively subject to the most delicate intimations from those personal authorities, in which we see the Voice of God in our regard.

Believe me, that a little of human nature is to be found fermenting in this sensitiveness. I write with pain, for it is difficult for us to see—we can see and become sensible of any, and especially of the more delicate shades of pride, and more especially of intellectual pride, not until it is beginning to move from us by the impulse of an act of humility. Forgive my freedom. Hitherto from delicacy and respect I have withheld from pointing out to your charity a source from which some part of this uneasiness has sprung, whatever external occasion may have given it opportunity. See what a faith I have in your humility. An invocation of the Holy Ghost, two or three chapters of the Following of Christ, an examen, and a few acts in presence of Almighty God give peace to our disturbed hearts, and the humbleness of right judgement to our minds. Let us pray for one another that we may bear ourselves in all the meekness of Christ and of his saints.

His letter the next day to Faber was couched in very different terms: 'I trust that we have nearly reached the end of this unpleasant affair, which has led to exhibitions

¹ Newman had said, in the letter to Faber, incorporated in the circular, 'No one can assail your name without striking at mine.'

of bitter zeal, not, I fear, altogether in the spirit of the Saints.'¹

The letter to Newman was a courageous one even for his bishop, five years his junior, to write. Newman sent it to Wiseman, who remarked that he thought 'Dr Ullathorne had no call to lecture him.' Newman replied: 'My dear Lord, not only he, as a bishop, but *anyone* may lecture me, and I should be obliged for it. What I had to remark in Dr Ullathorne was that he spoke about me without knowing me. It stands to reason that no one can know a person of my age in a moment—and the bishop has had no experience whatever of persons in my circumstances—and he spoke of me on a *theory*.'

Newman in time came to agree with Ullathorne's attitude and that of the old Catholics in the matter of foreign devotional atmospheres. In the *Letter to Dr Pusey*, 1865, he says: 'I prefer English habits of belief and devotion to foreign from the same causes, and by the same right, which justify foreigners in preferring their own.' And he refers to this early controversy.²

When I returned to England (from Rome) the first expression of theological opinion which came in my way was apropos of the series of translated Saints' Lives which the late Fr Faber originated. That expression proceeded from a wise prelate, who was properly anxious as to the line which might be taken up by the Oxford converts then for the first time coming into work. According as I recollect his opinion, he was apprehensive of the effects of Italian compositions, as unsuited to this country, and suggested that the Lives should be original works, drawn up by ourselves from Italian sources.

As a comment on the general question may be cited the remark made to me by a shrewd American abbot as we were

¹ Ullathorne soon got on to a friendly footing with Faber, writing in 1853, thanking him for his book *All for Jesus*, and expressing great admiration (*Life of Faber*, p. 395).

² *Letter to Pusey*, § 2 (p. 21 collected ed.). Faber, too, in 1857 wrote to the Prior of Downside, concerning a proposed collection of English ascetical and spiritual books, 'It will be an immense boon to English Catholics; no foreign books suit us as our own old ones do.'

watching a typical religious festa at Monte Cassino: an immense concourse of peasants had assembled, and they were giving full vent in their own way to the exuberance of religious emotion excited by the celebration—gala dresses, procession, band, fireworks, cries, gun shots, and the rest. After looking on for some time in silence, my friend said: 'Well, I suppose this works all right in southern Italy; but I guess the article isn't made for exportation.'

At this same time Ullathorne was engaged in another controversy with another group of the converts, the group of extremely able laymen who, dissatisfied with the *Dublin Review*, had in 1848 started the *Rambler* as an independent organ of opinion. The December number contained a somewhat intemperate article on the shortcomings of the Catholic higher educational institutions in England, both as schools for boys and as theological colleges for the clergy. Of the former it was said: 'The young Catholic laity, both of the nobility, gentry, and commercial classes, go forth into the world worse educated than any corresponding class in any one of the countless sects of Protestantism;' and of the latter: the clergy 'receive the barest elements of an education, both secular and theological.' At this day, when the Catholic schools and theological colleges have put their houses in order, they can afford to recognize that there was a large element of truth in the offending article; and even then many of the old Catholics regarded it as 'timely and in the main correct.'¹ But to most the article seemed exaggerated and indiscriminating, and also ungenerous and unjust. Remonstrances and protests went forth from many of the institutions attacked, and Ullathorne sent a long and vigorous letter to the *Tablet* of December 9, drawing a picture (highly idealized, be it said) of the education given at Downside, as he had known it in the 'twenties, both in the school and in the monastery to the young monks in preparation for the priesthood.² Any adjudication on the rights and wrongs of this controversy of seventy-five years

¹ So F. Oakeley, one of the converts, said in the next *Rambler*, January 1849, in a letter from Old Hall, declaring the statements of the article to be too sweeping.

² Reprinted in *Downside Review*, 1888.

ago need not concern us; but Ullathorne's attitude to the converts does, and so extracts from the opening and closing passages of the letter will be reproduced:

At this time of trouble for the whole Catholic world we are presented with our own particular and private cup of bitterness which is made up of detraction, injustice, and, I must add, of ungratefulness, towards ourselves, by a few, indeed a very few, who are but of yesterday amongst us, and whom we received with affection and confidence. . . . When the children of the Martyrs, who kept the hallowed fire in secret at all perils, are detracted and defamed before the civilized world, their guardians cannot be justified in keeping silence, unless we would acquiesce in the conclusion that the body of English Catholics is a scandal to the Church. Let me distinctly state that all this is known to emanate from a very small number of persons, some half dozen or so. Let me not for a moment be supposed to refer in any way to the great body of converts, who do honour to our holy Faith, and set an example worthy of our imitation. . . . We have seen a day when those who are but as children amongst us, forgetting their pupilage, have undertaken to rebuke, censure, and condemn the acts of those in authority in our Church, and the sentiments of her members. We have seen laymen undertake to condemn through the press arrangements in churches, which have been sanctioned or permitted in every district in England, and which exist in every country on the Continent. We have seen many delicate subjects, which depend entirely on Church authority, made the subject of angry quarrels and grave charges. We have seen anathemas, which authority is alone competent to wield, and that with the utmost caution and consideration, hurled by laymen at priests. We have seen ourselves set forth as the worst taught, worst trained, and most ignorant men of our class in all England. . . . When those in private station see what they suppose to be abuses in the Church, their duty is to go to the authorities, and not to brawl before the public.

Much of the foregoing diatribe refers to the controversy then raging, with an incredible intemperance of language and thought, over rood-screens and church ornaments and architecture, between the fanatical medievalism of Pugin and the no less fanatical Romanizing tendencies of Faber and the bulk of the converts (see Bishop Ward's *Sequel*,

chapter xxx).¹ The letter had a varied reception among the Catholics. Bishop Brown of Wales wrote to the Prior of Downside a couple of days after its appearance: 'What can call for Dr Ullathorne's long puff of Downside and himself in the last *Tablet*? Is he getting into violent altercation with the Oxfordians? If I were not in my present position I would enter the lists against their dictatorial condemnation of prudential reserve.' Ullathorne's own inner mind at the time is revealed in a letter of December 19: 'The conspiracy against the old Catholics was deeper than the public are aware of, and I have possession of some curious facts.'

In many Catholic quarters the letter was criticized. Oakeley, one of the most representative and moderate minded converts, wrote to Wiseman:²

I regret the letter, more especially on account of its probable effect on expected conversions from the Anglican body; for I know an opinion widely prevails that the more excellent of the recent converts, the more learned, devoted, self-denying, zealous, are not appreciated among us; and this opinion, most unfavourable to the conversion of similar persons, is likely, I fear, to be promoted by such a letter as Dr Ullathorne has felt it his duty to publish, not confined to a correction of the mistakes or exaggerations into which the *Rambler* has fallen on the subject, but implying a hint of confederacy on the part of certain converts to assail our existing institutions.

Among those displeased was Wiseman, always sympathetic with the converts. To him Ullathorne had written his fears during the trouble over the *Lives of the Saints*.³

What all the world see in Mr Newman and his priests is a spirit of isolation from the Catholic body, and much ignorance of *our* spirit, a critical spirit with regard to us, a tone like that of a party. Mr Newman, after all the kind and

¹ Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, one of Pugin's great adherents, told Faber that the curse of God would be on the Oratory if they adopted the 'pagan' Italian renaissance style in architecture and ornamentation, rather than the Christian gothic: see a series of letters of remonstrance from Newman, June, 1848, in *Life of de Lisle*, II, 203-8.

² *Life of Wiseman*, II, 225.

³ This letter and the following are cited in *Life of Wiseman*, II, 224.

familiar confidence shown him both by other bishops and myself, stands stiffly to his own opinions.

Three months later, however, February 1849, he again writes to Wiseman:

Mr Newman and his party have begun in Birmingham in a very good spirit, and I think the little rubs we have had have had the effect of bringing things together and awakening more consideration.

By the way, however much you may have disliked my rap at the 'half-dozen' converts, you must admit that they write with more consideration for the old Catholic body. Ward's article in the new *Rambler* (February) is quite decent, though a little sly. I am fully aware of many of our deficiencies, and am most anxious about a body of regular professors for Oscott, but they must grow out of our own people. A homogeneous body will work best together.

As appears in this letter, the Oratory at the close of 1848 had moved into Birmingham, and was established in Alcester Street, where the Fathers worked the parish. This led to further correspondence with Newman, and the Bishop asked if they claimed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, such as is enjoyed by the houses of regulars; and if so, he called on them to produce the proofs. Newman replied that they claimed the same position and privileges as are held by all Oratories, and went on: 'When any question arises between your Lordship and ourselves on any particular point, we shall be ready to produce our proofs. Before such an event, in itself not very likely, your Lordship will agree with us, that it is a waste of precious time to employ your Lordship and ourselves on abstract or contingent questions.' In his reply Ullathorne, after dealing with other matters, said: 'Do not, my dear sir, suppose that there is anything either merely abstract or contingent in the question of exemption, which is a question upon which both your own acts and mine depend.' There follows a lengthy exposition on exemption, concluding with the assurance that he would have no objection to the Oratory being exempt, only the fact, one way or the other, must be made clear.¹

It was of interest to depict these initial 'rubs', as he calls

¹ The Newman-Ullathorne correspondence at the Birmingham Oratory.

them, with Newman, because the relations between them will be one of the principal strands running through the remainder of this biography. Every element of misunderstanding and friction ended with 1848. From that date onwards the footing of mutual respect, sympathy, and confidence ripened with time into a lifelong friendship of forty years, growing ever more and more intimate, more and more affectionate, until extreme old age. It may safely be said that the friendship with Ullathorne was Newman's great Catholic friendship; and that Newman's along with Mother Margaret's were the great friendships of Ullathorne's life. Here may be given the letter of August 5, 1850, transmitting to Newman the document conferring the title of D.D., in procuring which Ullathorne, as the bishop, was, it cannot be doubted, largely instrumental: 'I have much pleasure in transmitting to you the enclosed rescript. I am perfectly aware that no title could in any way increase that reputation which the gifts of God and your labours have given you for the service of God and of His Church. But this mark of confidence of the Holy Father will be gratifying to the Catholics of England, and is certainly so to me.'

The matter of the Hierarchy was still hanging fire, owing, as has been said, to the Revolution in Rome and the Pope's withdrawal to Gaeta. He re-entered Rome not till April 1850, and the next month the surprising determination was taken to raise Wiseman to the Cardinalate and call him from England to Rome, where he should reside permanently as English Cardinal in Curia, in place of Cardinal Acton. The truth seems to be that some of the old school, the 'safe men', who distrusted Wiseman as too go-ahead, got the ear of Rome, representing that his forward policy was premature and dangerous. The news became public in July and fell as a great blow on the majority of the English Catholics and on Wiseman himself, who looked on it as the death-knell to that personal work of his in England to which he had consecrated his life.¹ Among others Ullathorne wrote to him, and his answer is given in the *History of the Restora-*

¹ See *Life*, I, 521.

tion of the Hierarchy (p. 79).¹ Ullathorne there speaks also of a visit Wiseman paid to him at Birmingham at the end of July; but he omits the, for us, most interesting feature of the interview, viz., that Wiseman looked on him as the one destined to succeed him in London and become first Archbishop of Westminster. This appears in the original draft of the *Autobiography*:

Dr Wiseman called on me in Birmingham. In the course of our conversation, he said that in the course of a fortnight he expected to quit these shores for ever, as the Holy Father had stated he would provide his successor in London. He then added that for certain reasons which he alleged, he thought it probable that I might be his successor, and having this feeling, he wished to give me his ideas, if I would allow him, of the London District. At once upon this I frankly told him my reasons why I considered myself unfit for that post, and spoke in detail as I saw and felt. After this interview he told those who accompanied him that he did not think that any of those of whom rumour spoke would go to London; and I have no doubt that he had completely bent his mind on returning to England if he could accomplish it.

This, no doubt, is the occasion of which Ullathorne used to speak in later years, saying in his room at St Chad's: 'I have seen Dr Wiseman in this room crying like a child'—so bitter was the thought of withdrawal from the work in England.

That it was no mere fancy of Ullathorne's is shown by the fact that he at once wrote to his friend in Rome, Dr Grant, Rector of the English College, who on July 27 replied to his 'anxious letter', that apparently Wiseman was to be kept in Rome as Cardinal; that the reports were that Ullathorne was to go to London, or else Dr Briggs, Vicar of the Yorkshire District: 'but will you or he be chosen for London? I know nothing official about the matter, but I know that powerful interests will be set in motion for each of your Lordships; and as far as I can now venture on pronouncing an opinion, I think that the choice would, if the present probable influences be calculated, be in favour of Dr Briggs.'

¹ Also Bishop Ward, *Sequel*, II, 280.

Wiseman reached Rome on September 5. He had been preceded by so many and such urgent remonstrances and representations against the proposal of taking him out of England, where it was generally felt he was the one man to fill worthily the new position of first Archbishop in the restored Hierarchy, that he found little difficulty in persuading Pius IX to leave him in England. This turn in the course of events precipitated the Hierarchy: Wiseman of course was still to be a Cardinal; but a Vicar Apostolic never was raised to that dignity; consequently he must return to England Archbishop of Westminster. On September 13 he wrote to a friend telling him the news; on the 29th the Bull was issued re-establishing the English Catholic Hierarchy, and Dr Ullathorne became Bishop of Birmingham.



WILLIAM BERNARD ULLATHORNE

1852

CHAPTER VII

BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

First Period till Wiseman's Death (1850—1865)

IMMEDIATELY on the publication, October 13, of the Pope's act in restoring the Hierarchy, the 'Papal Aggression' agitation burst out over the land. It is to be spoken of in the next chapter. It was raging in its full fury when, a fortnight later, Sunday, October 27, Dr Ullathorne was enthroned as Bishop of Birmingham in St Chad's Cathedral. Newman preached at the pontifical Mass the sermon, 'Christ on the Waters';¹ and Ullathorne himself in the evening preached the sermon 'The Office of a Bishop', of which two editions were printed that same year. The following is *The Times* report:

Throughout the entire sermon, which was eminently plain and practical, the right rev. Bishop never in the remotest degree referred to the controversy now waging against the Pope's assumption. His language was free from the slightest tincture of acrimony, and the sermon, which lasted more than an hour, was listened to with the most profound attention.

Thus his episcopate opened in the thick of a great public conflict, and the thirty years from 1850 to 1880 were destined to be years of frequently recurring and heated controversy for the English Catholics, both against hostile external forces, and also between contending movements among themselves. In all these controversies, both within and without, Ullathorne ever took a leading part, and his public life is largely made up of such encounters.

The new diocese of Birmingham embraced the counties of Warwick, Stafford, Oxford, and Worcester. On arrival in

¹ In volume *Sermons on Various Occasions*.

Birmingham in 1848 Ullathorne had at once found himself confronted with a financial situation hardly less critical than that which he had found in the Western District. He thus depicts it in the original *Autobiography*:

To my dismay I soon discovered that the administration was involved in a huge gulf of debt, of debt to such an extent that had I known the state of things beforehand, I verily believe that I should have struggled still more, and to my very utmost effort, against my translation. No regular accounts had been kept, and the whole temporal administration was in a state of collapse. All the funds, or nearly so, were exhausted. I saw but one way possible of saving the District and that was an odious one; yet there was no remedy. I resolved to let the clergy know the real state of affairs, and to get their consent to a general reduction of incomes, until things were in a better condition. The funds for ecclesiastical education were all sunk or spent, and I resolved to establish a new fund through contributions and collections. But it was impossible to obtain that sympathy, confidence, and aid which I required from the laity, without making them in some degree partakers in the difficulties in which I was placed, and this I did in a series of financial pastorals.

The first was the Lenten pastoral of 1849. He told the people that he had ascertained that there were obligations amounting to £1,000 a year, which he had to shoulder as Bishop, beyond any income derived from funded money. He explained that this deficit was mainly owing to the fact that his predecessor, to keep pace with the growing religious needs of the District, had founded new missions and provided churches and schools greatly in excess of the resources at his command: the money was well spent and they were now reaping the benefits of it; but it was absolutely essential to restore financial equilibrium, and meantime to call a halt in all further developments. The response to this explanation and appeal on the part of clergy and laity was generous. Still the bishop passed through a prolonged period, lasting a number of years, of acute anxiety over the temporalities of the diocese. In 1856 he writes to Bishop Brown of Newport:¹

¹ Among Bishop Brown's papers at Cardiff.

It has been my misery ever since I had a mitre to have to deal with enormous debts and deficits; and if it had not been for the good moral state of the clergy of this diocese I know not how I could have gone through with it. The only consolation one now has is that it looks as if things had reached their worst. Nothing but an inward fear that it would be a cowardly running away from the will of God has kept me from secretly departing from the diocese, and burying myself in some lonely place in a remote country, like the old hermits, and there labouring for my daily bread. I am, and was, quite aware that this was a temptation, and it has gone; but it will show you how much the administration of this diocese has been a pressure upon me—on me whose ideal of a happy life is that of a monk in his monastery.

Here it is right to mention the name of Rev. Edgar Estcourt, later Canon Estcourt. He was one of the Oxford converts whom Ullathorne found at Prior Park and took to be his secretary at Clifton. He brought him with him to Birmingham, and he was the Bishop's right-hand man in all financial and business concerns until his death in 1884. To him Ullathorne attributes the unravelling of the financial tangle in which they found the temporalities, and the carrying through of the process whereby things were gradually set right. It took the whole forty years of his episcopate to establish the diocese on a permanently solid financial basis; but it was done. In the 'Reply' to the Address from the clergy on his retirement in 1888 he was able to say:

There has been one source of solicitude during the past forty years, that has been very serious. A great Saint has said, that 'if the temporalities go wrong, the spiritualities are sure to get into disorder.' To restore the temporalities, with the invaluable aid of the late Canon Estcourt, I have been working all these years like a mole under the ground. It took us the first seven years to ascertain how the diocese stood. Three operations had to be carried on simultaneously: to pay heavy debts contracted before my time; to restore funds that had been alienated, for however good a purpose; and to form new funds that were greatly needed, and especially a fund for ecclesiastical education, and another for diocesan administration, both of which amount now to considerable sums that are permanently secured. These three operations have been steadily carried on upon the one

simple principle of funding all benefactions, down to the smallest, and of never paying away capital, but only the proceeds of interest. To this I have added whatever could be spared from the episcopal Mensa, for I thank God that as a Benedictine I have always kept my vow of poverty.

It was probably the knowledge he had acquired as co-adjutor in the Central District, of the perilous financial position and the urgent need of drastic remedies to avert bankruptcy, that made Wiseman write concerning Ullathorne's translation: ¹ 'I believe Dr Ullathorne to be the *very best* bishop that could have been appointed to the Central District. He is the only person whom I believe to be capable of doing much that has to be done there.'

Against the liabilities, the diocese was in possession of two great assets, thanks to the free expenditure of money by his predecessor: St Chad's Cathedral in Birmingham, a fine gothic church, of Pugin's, free from debt and consecrated; and the truly magnificent modern diocesan college at Oscott, the home at once of the episcopal seminary and of a flourishing school for the laity.

Many times in his episcopal life did Ullathorne enter the lists in defence of the Catholic primary schools and of the principle of denominational education. The first occasion was in 1850, when a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, the purpose of which was to set up a universal and exclusively secular system of education in the primary schools, with provision that opportunity should be given for religious instruction under the direction of the parents of each child. It resembled some recent proposals of secular education in all schools, with the 'right of entry' for religious teachers at stated times outside the statutory school hours. At this early date Ullathorne, in a pamphlet, *Remarks on the Proposed Education Bill*, raised his voice against the whole theory of divorcing education from religion. The pamphlet sets forth very clearly the principles for which the Catholic bishops of England have been contending from that day to this—that the family is the first foundation of society; that the education of their children is the right and the office of the parents, and a right which no

¹ *Life of Cornelia Connelly*, p. 147.

human law can override; the idea of the schoolmaster being the delegate, not of the parents, but of society at large or of the State, is false, in that it dissolves the bonds of the family and transfers a portion of the child's relationship to the civil power. 'Are the poor of the people of a different nature from the wealthy? Test this proposed system of non-religious education for England's poor given them by the State, by proposing a similar plan to the wealthy and the refined. Is this a way to diminish the distance between the poor and the wealthy, by beginning to take away from the family of the poor their religious independence with regard to their children on whom their affections strongly repose?'

Another cause in defence of which he many times entered the lists was that of the nuns. In 1851 was introduced in the House of Commons a bill for the inspection of convents, 'to make provision for preventing the forcible detention of females in houses wherein are resident persons bound by monastic vows.' The Bill sought to secure that all convents should be registered and visited twice each year by three justices, with power to see each nun separately, and to remove from the convent without inquiry anyone who so desires. Ullathorne produced a pamphlet of twenty-four pages: *A Plea for the Rights and Liberties of Religious Women*. It is a clear popular exposition of the principles and nature of conventual life, and a protest against the proposed invasion of that inviolability of the domicile so dear to the English heart, and greatly resented by the nuns themselves. An added remonstrance on an episode of the debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill is given here:

These pages had gone through the press before that extraordinary episode had arisen wherein a member of the honourable House of Commons thought fit to throw ribaldry of a description with which God forbid I should soil these pages, on Christ's most pure virgins.¹ They were English ladies; they were absent, unoffending, blameless; no matter, they had no known and individual protectors; and so this honourable gentleman pronounced them infamous. This conduct was decided to be not out of order. [In response to the

¹ *Hansard*, March 20, 1851.

remonstrance of Catholic members] the Prime Minister gave a mild opinion that the feelings of honourable members should not be wounded. Were there no other feelings wounded more deeply still? No rights invaded? Was no great injustice perpetrated? No one's gold, or land, or life was taken; but what even this world accounts to be more precious than land, or gold, or life—the pure fame, the unsullied honour, and the good repute of their countrywomen—were assaulted in that assembly whose province it is to protect the subject from wrong. The age of chivalry is indeed gone. If it is supposed that these and the like contumelies will have any effect in deterring generous souls from entering convents, this is a grievous mistake. It is heroic hearts that are drawn thither, others are not wanted there. And hearts that are heroic in faith know well, they see it as an abiding vision, they feel it as a subsisting truth within their souls, strange and unmeaning as it may sound in the ears of worldlings, that contumelies and reproaches with Christ are the lot of His saints. Persecution has always been the mallet with which God has driven firmly into their places in His Church the foundations of her hierarchies; and calumnious tongues are the instruments which He has deigned to use for chastening, fire-trying, and glorifying His faithful servants of her religious orders.

This 'Plea', two editions whereof were published during the year, called forth an ultra-Protestant 'Reply' from Mr Henry Drummond, M.P., a protagonist of the no-popery and anti-puseyite party in the Church of England, the man who had spoken the vile gibe against which Ullathorne's invective was levelled.

In the midst of these alarms and excursions he was not so absorbed as to be kept away wholly from his books; on February 22, 1851, in the height of the excitement caused by his letter to Lord John Russell on the papal aggression, he writes: ¹

I have positively wept to-night over the death of Sir Thomas More, as related in Walter's Life of the martyr. There is something so simply and immovably great in that wonderful soul, the most perfect character of which we have a full account. His trial, his words, letters, and death, so remind one of our Lord's—so sweet, wise, and gentle. And his poor daughter Margaret's conduct was so like that of Magdalen.

¹ *Letters*, p. 18.

And that June he was even able to go into retreat for a week :¹

I received your kind and affectionate greetings whilst in retreat. So happy a week as that retreat I have not known these years past; for retreats have been rare with me amidst so many changes. You will understand how hard it is to find myself again amidst the clash of mortal passions and human affairs. It is as if one had been for a week at the silent doors of Heaven; looking straight away from oneself through the azure veils, looking into the Spirit of God, into the internal life of our Lord, into the hearts of His dearest Saints; reading the laws of truth and justice, and seeing the beauty and goodness that is all there, with yearning and desires to see oneself no more.

In 1852 was held at Oscott the first provincial synod of the restored Hierarchy, to be spoken of in the next chapter.

The year 1853 brought an experience strange, if not unique, in the life of a bishop—Dr Ullathorne was imprisoned in Warwick Gaol for debt! As it was one of his sayings, when refusing to sanction ventures in church-building, that the clergy never would learn prudence in money matters before two or three of them had been imprisoned for debt, this turn of affairs, once over, afforded no small amusement to the clergy. The case is fully set forth in the circular he addressed to the clergy :

WARWICK GAOL,
April 27, 1853.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: You will have heard already of my being arrested and lodged in the gaol at Warwick, in company with the Rev. Dr Moore, the President of the college at Oscott. An event so extraordinary imposes on me the duty of explaining to you and the Catholic community the circumstances that have led to such a result.

During the administration of my predecessor, the late Right Rev. Dr Walsh, the late Charles Browne-Mostyn, Esq., was desirous of adding to the endowment of the mission of Radford, in the immediate vicinity of his residence at Kidlington in Oxfordshire. For that purpose he gave eighty shares in the Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire Banking Company, and transferred them into the names of the Right Rev. Dr Walsh, then Vicar Apostolic of the Central District, and the Right Rev. Dr Wiseman, then President of St Mary's

¹ *Letters*, p. 21.

college at Oscott, and, by a formal deed of trust, he appointed that their successors in those offices, for the time being, should always be the holders of these shares in trust for the Radford mission. On my succeeding Dr Walsh as Vicar Apostolic I also succeeded to the trust, together with the Rev. Dr Moore, the succeeding President of Oscott, but, it is obvious, without taking any beneficial interest whatever in the shares in question; and when some time after a call of £3 per share was made on the shareholders, we were obliged to decline paying it, having no funds for the purpose, and the clergyman of the mission himself procured the money which amounted to £240.

In the autumn of 1851 the Company became bankrupt to a very large amount, for which we are liable, jointly with the other shareholders. We had no property of our own, yet after taking the counsel of our friends, we entered into an engagement to pay £1,000, which sum we borrowed for the purpose, and paid in full confidence, under the representation then made, that no further claim would be pressed against us.

The affairs have since been brought under the Court of Chancery, and the agreement has not been carried out, but an additional call has been made upon us of £60 a share, amounting to £4,800, towards which the sum of £1,000 already paid has been considered part. We thus received notice to pay £3,800, but we replied it was utterly impossible for us to meet the demand, that the £1,000 already paid was not our own, that we had no means of raising more, and that all we could do would be to surrender our few personal effects, such as books, vestments, etc. Of these our solicitor obtained and presented a valuation, which did not amount to £200 for both of us together. This sum we offered to raise, but our proposal was declined by the official managers, who in their communications, whether personal or in writing, either with our solicitor or with the Rev. E. Estcourt, did not dispute our statements or our personal inability to pay, but alleged that the Catholic community would not fail to assist us in finding the money, if process was pressed against us.

I can easily understand that it was difficult at first for the official managers to understand the honourable poverty of a Catholic bishop; but during the course of the past year my circumstances have been so carefully and repeatedly explained to them, and the reasons which bind me to a life of poverty were so ingenuously laid open to them, that it is impossible to acquit them of a complete knowledge of the subject. I ought not to omit to state that so soon as I found the position in which I was thus placed, I intended the resignation of my sacred office that I might bear my burden and trial without

inconvenience to the diocese; but my offer was declined in a manner that satisfied me that it was my duty to continue my episcopal administration.

It will be seen by the above statement that our official position, by forcing a charitable trust upon us, has involved us in a complication from which it was quite impossible for us by any act of ours to deliver ourselves. We have given up all and more than we possessed to satisfy the liabilities in which we have so innocently become entangled, and nothing remains for us now but to pass through the Insolvent Courts before this process can terminate. The consolation which supports me in the midst of this trial is the assurance that I receive on all sides, both from friends and strangers, in confirmation of my own convictions, that there is nothing in these transactions which can justly be turned to discredit the episcopal character as represented in my person.

The main result, as far as the public are concerned, will be to reveal the poverty of a Catholic bishop. In that poverty I have always lived, nor would I exchange it for all the wealth this world can give me.

He firmly refused to allow any appeal to the public. Seeing that he had borrowed nothing, received nothing, given security for nothing, and had no beneficial interest in the bequest, his position from the beginning was, 'I cannot, ought not, and shall not pay'; and he would not allow his flock to be called on to pay for him. While in the gaol he amused himself by writing letters to his friends, describing in a half comic way his prison life. Several were to his nuns, who were conjuring up fears of the hardships befalling the dear bishop;¹ but one was to Newman, who had written his condolences:

MY DEAR DR NEWMAN: I thank you for your kind note. You know that Dr Moore is now with me. We are quite cheerful and happy, and to say the truth are enjoying our little adventure. We have a ward to ourselves, and all the attention and respect that can be paid to persons in our situation we receive from all with whom we come in contact. Everybody is disposed to sympathize with our case. Our quarters are quite as convenient as those of a Carthusian, but we have not their solitude, for we have very kind visitors [they had forty on one day]; nor their diet, for we are

¹ *Letters*, pp. 34-40.

rationed from an hotel. In Dr Moore's cell we said Mass this morning, much in the style of Pius VII and Cardinal Pacca, a style not new, of course, to me.

Our solicitor's interview with those of the assignees had this beneficial result, that it completed the proof of disposition to abuse the courts of the country. And this is now a plea for discharge. They said: We know we have only to apply the screw, and the money will be forthcoming. They have always said they never doubted our statements.

Even our old Governor, a great character, once a Bow Street officer, and now as peremptory as fate, and as short as crumpets, says with the rest of the world that it is our duty to resist and not to pay.

The imprisonment lasted ten days. The legality of the detention was challenged in the Rolls Court; the bank withdrew its suit; and on May 4 the two prisoners were released, ten gentlemen waiting at the gaol to escort the bishop back to Birmingham. He announced his release in the following letter:

BISHOP'S HOUSE, BIRMINGHAM,

May 5, 1853.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: It is with a sense of gratitude to Almighty God that I communicate to you and to your congregation the release of myself and Dr Moore from prison. On Monday, 2nd of May, motion was made in the Rolls Court for our release and acquittal, and Thursday was appointed for arguing the case. But on the Tuesday the solicitor of the assignees proposed a meeting. The case was left in the hands of the Court, the sum of £200 which we had previously promised was paid, and on the following day, Wednesday, the 4th inst., we obtained our release.

I feel confident it will require no special invitation to induce you and your congregation to join me in thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the blessing we have received in this deliverance.

From the time of his move from Clifton to Birmingham it had been intended that Mother Margaret's Dominican nuns should make a foundation in his diocese. The beginning of carrying out this project was made in 1851. In that year he was appointed by the Holy See, with consent of the Master General of the Dominicans, ecclesiastical superior for life of the Congregation of Dominican nuns of the Third Order, of

which he had been the Founder. This made it proper that the Mother House of the Congregation and novitiate should be in his diocese. Stone in Staffordshire was selected as the site of a large convent, which was opened in August 1853, Mother Margaret herself being established there as the Mother Provincial of the Institute. Though he found already in the diocese several of the old English communities of women, driven home from the Continent by the French Revolution, Benedictines and others, Stone, being his own offspring, was always his principal love; and however friendly and fatherly were his relations with all his nuns, those at Stone held a unique place in his thoughts and affections, and no one, man or woman, ever enjoyed his most intimate confidence so fully as did Mother Margaret.

In November 1853 took place the first of the series of six diocesan synods of his episcopate, held every five or six years up to 1881. At each he preached, and four of these synodal addresses are included in the volume of *Ecclesiastical Discourses* (1876), that of 1853 holding the first place in these collected discourses. His hopes of the work done at this synod were thus expressed :¹

You will be delighted to know that I have appointed the administration of temporalities. The Vicar General is getting into his proper work, and I am doing all I can to disentangle myself from daily details, so as finally to set myself free for missionary and spiritual work. By the time the synod is over I shall be quite free, and more in the position of one of the old bishops, with a regular administration of affairs conducted more under me than through me. For this I have been working ever since I had the sacred mitre on my head; but it has cost all these years to bring it round.

At the same date he thus draws his ideal portrait of a bishop :²

His cares and labours are good for grinding down nature. He ought to see through our Lord's eyes, and should be free from the spirit of the age in which he lives, which is but the passing fashion of the passing world. He should have faith enough to confide in invisible strength, not his own, and

¹ *Letters*, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

should despair of nothing except help from this world and wisdom from its maxims. He should pray unceasingly and spend himself in labours, and should have a great charity in his heart from the Holy Ghost, loving everything that has in it, or may have, the grace of God; and he should set his heart specially to perfect those whom God has called to perfection.

These last words are characteristic; the religious needs of the numerous communities of nuns in his diocese was one of the foremost concerns of his pastoral care, one of the objects nearest to his heart.

Early in 1854 occurred a recrudescence of the agitation on the part of the Protestant Alliance for the inspection of convents, limited this time to those of the enclosed Orders, and there was a motion in Parliament for a Committee of Inquiry. This called forth from Ullathorne another pamphlet in the shape of a public Letter to Lord Edward Howard, M.P., afterwards first Lord Howard of Glossop, who had been leader in the defence of the convents in the House of Commons; the statistics supplied in this Letter were read out in the House.

The continuous and taxing labours and conflicts of the preceding three or four years had told on the bishop's health, and a good rest was necessary. At the beginning of May, along with three friends, he went for a five weeks' holiday abroad. The objective was a pilgrimage to the new sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette, an Alpine village in the diocese of Grenoble. Interesting is the account of the visit paid to the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, and the impression made by its wild mountain scenery and the life of the monks; interesting, too, is the story of the visit to the celebrated Curé d'Ars, and the picture drawn of that remarkable personality.¹ Concerning La Salette, the article in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* will give sufficient information. In its essential features the very counterpart of Lourdes, but twelve years earlier—an apparition of the Blessed Virgin to peasant children, a holy fountain whose

¹ The Grande Chartreuse is described in the booklet on *La Salette*, to be mentioned just now, p. 8 (cf. *Characteristics*, p. 110); the Curé d'Ars, in *La Salette*, pp. 128-36, also a letter written from Ars (*Letters*, p. 51).

water was sent forth to all parts of France, thronging pilgrimages, overflowing devotion, arresting cures—at the time of Ullathorne's visit it bade fair to become what Lourdes has become, a great centre of Catholic devotion for France and for the world, and it made on him all the impression that Lourdes now makes on devout Catholics. Pilgrims still go to La Salette, but in inconsiderable numbers, and it is now little heard of except locally, being wholly overshadowed by Lourdes. The reason may be, partly, that it is much more difficult of access than Lourdes, being on the summit of a mountain 6,000 feet high and difficult to climb; and, partly, that it has from the first been the subject of acrimonious controversy. Ullathorne, however, had no doubts; after visiting the spot, and taking part in the devotions of the pilgrims, and (as he says) 'receiving consolations on the mountain', and witnessing some remarkable cures, and hearing the story of the apparition from the two who as children had witnessed it, he came away a convinced believer in the reality of it all, and his belief was unshaken till his dying day. Returned home, his first thought was to publish an account of the experiences and impressions at La Salette, together with a full statement of the evidence. The booklet *The Holy Mountain of La Salette* (180 pp. 12mo) was first published in 1854, and, being the only thing on the subject in English, it ran to six editions in as many years; and it was translated into French and German. The autobiographical portions are of abiding interest, as a manifestation of the devotional side of Ullathorne's mind; this may be read also in a long letter written at La Salette, preserved in the volume of *Letters* (p. 53).

In the autumn of this same year, 1854, the Bishop began the first canonical visitation of the diocese, which went on until late in the next year. His visitations were no perfunctory visits:¹

I take two priests with me, and shall be much occupied for a long time, for I wish to do this work as thoroughly as I can. I trust it will begin a new era in the diocese. I shall search into everything, give everybody access to me, hear anybody's

¹ *Letters*, p. 57.

confession who wishes to come to me, and visit the sick of the mission. In short, I wish and intend to make myself all things to all, and to do what I can to gain all. I hope, with God's grace, to realize in some degree that which I have always had more or less before me, and the want of which has been my torment.

At this same time, in view of the coming definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, expected for December 8, he set to work on a tractate expounding the doctrine. It was published as a 24mo volume of 200 pages in London, January 1855, and later in the same year in Baltimore, and it, too, was translated into French and German. Though this work had been before his mind for upwards of four years, the actual writing took hardly three months, and that amidst the work of visitations—an extremely rapid piece of composition. He thus speaks of it on September 22 :¹

In the midst of my work I have projected a book on the Immaculate Conception. I have the whole plan in my head, and shall write it at odd times, as I can work it out in my meditations. It will not be an original, but a popular book. A work of this kind, taken up without interfering with the visitations, will relieve the heaviness of that work, and prevent my relaxing myself by desultory literature.

He did, however, find it necessary to suspend the visitations and consecrate the month of November to the book. It is a piece of popular theology, mingled with devotion, a good specimen of 'vulgarization' in theology. It is learned without pedantry, theological without technicality, eloquent without insincerity, and breathing a warmth of piety without gush. In the *Letter to Dr Pusey* (Note II) Newman recommends it as 'a work full of instruction and of the first authority.' It would be difficult to point to a better popular theological exposition of Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin, whether for the instruction of educated Catholic lay folk or of non-Catholic inquirers, and it is a wonder it has never been reprinted.

In July 1855 the second provincial synod was held, again at Oscott, and Dr Ullathorne, as diocesan, preached the inaugural sermon.²

¹ *Letters*, p. 57.

² No. III of *Ecclesiastical Discourses*.

His reflections on the Crimean War, and war in general, called forth by the fall of Sebastopol, are worth recording :¹

Here is Sebastopol all in flames, thousands on thousands of men lying dead about it, and all for the deeds of other people, who are quite happy in their palaces, if we are to believe them. And everybody here is rejoicing because a town is on fire and destroyed, and a hecatomb of red and blue and green-coated men are lying dead. The world is the ape of its Almighty Creator, playing at His greatness, dealing with lives and souls as if they were ninepins, and quite satisfied with the result of the game.

The visitations in the diocese went on till the end of 1855, and, having completed them, Ullathorne proceeded at the beginning of 1856 to Rome, to make his first canonical visitation 'at the threshold of the Apostles'. On this occasion he made a pilgrimage to Subiaco, St Benedict's first monastery and the cradle of the Benedictines. A series of five articles in the *Rambler*, reprinted as a pamphlet of 70 pages, described the 'Pilgrimage to the Proto-Monastery of Subiaco and the Holy Grotto of St Benedict'. It forms a complete monograph on Subiaco under all its aspects—scenery, architecture, art treasures, the Holy Grotto, St Benedict, and the subsequent history of the monastery till the date of the visit. It is written with all the enthusiasm which Subiaco must evoke in the heart of a zealous Benedictine monk :

The pilgrim came hither to revive in him the spirit of his Order, after an exile for a long quarter of a century from his own cloister; and none but a true monk can understand what that means, what sacrifices such an exile implies, or what yearnings it supposes. A monk thrown into the conflicts of the world, even for the holiest of causes, is like a land bird blown abroad upon the wide sea, and thirsting for its quiet nest in the woods (p. 41).

On return to England he was faced with an acute financial crisis in the affairs of the diocese. Benefactors who had been helping largely had died, and a legacy of £20,000 was lost through a flaw in the drawing of the will. The pastoral letters this year reflect the critical situation and appeal urgently to the faithful for help.

¹ *Letters*, p. 71.

At this time was being debated among the Catholics the matter of Government grants towards the maintenance, and also towards the building, of elementary schools belonging to the various religious denominations. The Catholic Poor School Committee, consisting principally of prominent laymen, had been appointed by the bishops to deal with the Government in these negotiations, and the outcome was a model trust deed, known as the 'Kemerton Trust', under which those schools that received building grants should be held and administered. It was recognized that the Government aid must involve some measure of Government control, and the question at issue was the extent to which the Government might legally push its claim to control under the terms of the trust deed. It was generally understood that the bishops were satisfied that the trust might safely be accepted; and it was recognized that in no other way than by Government aid was it possible in very many places to provide Catholic poor schools at all, to meet the needs of the enormous influx of poor Catholics from Ireland consequent on the Famine. But certain prominent Catholics, laymen and clergy, held that the Catholic character of such schools was being jeopardized, and an acute controversy was in progress in the Catholic press. Into this fray Ullathorne threw himself with a tract: *Notes on the Education Question* (72 pp.). It surveys the ground in measured language and with moderation; but the burden of the tract is unmistakable, that under the trust deed the liberty of the Catholic schools is radically lost, and therefore the building grant should be accepted only in cases of direst necessity; and every effort should be made to keep the schools independent of Government aid wherever possible.

The pamphlet was published at the beginning of 1857, and in February it was reviewed by the *Tablet*, respectfully, but adversely, on the main issue. The controversy blazed up anew, and on April 4 Ullathorne put a long letter in the *Tablet*, expressing much more clearly than the *Notes* had done his dislike of the Kemerton Trust:

'It has industriously been stated that the bishops have formally approved the model trust deed. This is incorrect. Points in debate were repeatedly referred to the bishops, but

the trust deed itself was never discussed by them.' He declares the dangers to be real and great, the authority of the bishops in religious matters to be unduly controlled by the State, so that religious liberty is at stake; and concludes that building grants under the trust deed should not be accepted.

The bishops at their annual Low Week meeting discussed the situation and disapproved of Ullathorne's intervention, so much so that on May 2 Wiseman printed a letter in the *Tablet* that he had sent in the name of the bishops to the Chairman of the Cathólic Poor Schools Committee. He states that the trust deed had been carefully examined, clause by clause, by the bishops and their advisers in 1850, and had been accepted as quite safe; and, in the name of the bishops, he now repeats the assurance that they hold that building and maintenance grants may safely be accepted under this deed. The letter concludes:

The faithful should not be harassed and perplexed by the raising anew of questions long since solved, after full and deliberate consideration. The whole question of education grants has been reopened, as if the model deed had not been maturely examined till now. Such a view is completely erroneous. We trust that this explicit declaration will have the effect of allaying any apprehensions that have been excited among Catholics, and will bring to a charitable close the controversies, too often acrid and personal, to which these fears have lately led.

Though the letter made no reference to Ullathorne or his pamphlet, it was a severe public rebuke, and he felt it keenly. This appears in a letter to him from Newman, expressing sympathy in 'the distress' the episode had caused to him; a few days later Newman again writes, thanking him for his 'confidential and painfully interesting communication on the subject': this communication has not been preserved—unless, indeed, it was a copy of a private circular letter to the bishops, remonstrating against Wiseman's *Tablet* letter, on the ground that no real decision had been reached at the bishops' meeting, no resolution put, no vote taken; only an informal desultory talk. We shall see that the unbusinesslike way in which Wiseman conducted these meetings was a standing cause of dissatisfaction to the bishops. A large dossier

of correspondence shows that in his fears of the implications and likely consequences of the school trust deed, Ullathorne had with him a considerable body of representative Catholic opinion, lay and clerical.

As things have worked out in fact, however indispensable Government aid has been, Ullathorne could look on the actual position of the Catholic primary schools as the verification of his forebodings of loss of independence, as he understood independence in 1857: this is not to say that the maintenance of such independence could have been made in any way possible.

At this time Ullathorne was threatened during some months with a serious breakdown in health. The labours in Australia had not only impaired his health, but had undermined his constitution, and he never fully recovered. And the ten years of episcopate had been one continuous period of overwork, in unceasing pastoral labour, in harassing financial anxiety, in controversies, and in intellectual work. The inevitable results of the prolonged mental strain asserted themselves in bad attacks of dizziness. In March 1857 he writes:¹ 'When I was in the pulpit yesterday the church seemed to rock about and everybody to be turning round, and I was obliged to come down.' The doctors pronounced it to be congestion of the spinal cord and cerebellum, and prescribed a complete rest of some weeks. After playing with this advice for a time, he went abroad with a friend at the end of June: 'I am going to ramble about the Catholic portion of the Alps, to witness the simple piety of an old Catholic people in the mountains and valleys of the Tyrol and primitive Switzerland, and visit old sanctuaries and shrines.' The letters written on this tour, from Lucerne, Einsiedeln, St Gall, Munich, and Nuremberg, give a vivid picture of the impressions made on him.² Most interesting is the account of the Benedictine Abbey of Einsiedeln with its great community of eighty-five choir-monks ministering to the ever-flowing pilgrimages that throng the great church. It made the same impression on him as it makes on all Benedictine visitors—'the greatest and noblest monastery I have ever seen.'

¹ *Letters*, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 85-9.

The tour lasted only five weeks—hardly long enough, for ‘though bodily well, I have just a sufficient hint left at the back part of the head to warn me against attempting any harassing labour.’ Unfortunately in his absence a new controversy had arisen; the *Edinburgh Review* had attacked his tractate on La Salette, and the free-lance Catholic *Rambler* had declared itself on the same side. Though aware of the imprudence of it, he could not resist the impulse to enter the lists against a Catholic periodical impugning what then, before Lourdes, was a unique centre of devotion in honour of the Blessed Virgin; so in the *Tablet*, during September and October, appeared a series of five letters, reprinted as a tract of fifty pages in 1858. This brought on a return of the malady, and he had to put himself unreservedly in the doctors’ hands and abstain totally from all work during the last two months of the year. This year, 1857, he called ‘the idlest he had ever spent.’ A letter of Newman’s to him shows that still in March 1858 his health was causing anxiety, and was giving rise to talk of a coadjutor bishop; Newman writes with concern, hoping it is not so.

The two years 1858 and 1859 leave little to be recorded; they were a time of enforced mental rest to recuperate overtaxed powers, and of steady routine work in the diocese. Also during these years began the preparation of the book on Humility, which during the next twenty-five years was matured into three monumental volumes published in the ‘eighties. In July 1859 was held, again at Oscott, the third provincial synod, to be spoken of in the next chapter. In the autumn of this year Dr Ullathorne was consulted by Propaganda on the question of his going to Australia as Apostolic Delegate to settle troubles that had arisen there in regard to the general condition of Catholic affairs, and to the formation of new dioceses and the appointing of bishops to them. The reader may remember Fr McEncroe as the most prominent priest in Sydney and friend of Ullathorne. He, as well as Bishop Gould of Melbourne, arrived in Europe at the beginning of 1859, and both of them came to consult with Ullathorne before going on to Rome to lay before Propaganda their ideas as to the needs of the Australian Church. As the result of their representations and, no doubt, recommenda-

tions, came the invitation from Propaganda. Concerning it Ullathorne wrote :¹

I am sure of this, that if there is prospect of doing any important service to the Church, for which there is no other visible means, and if the Holy See strenuously urges this course, I must not shrink from the duty merely because it may be an unpleasant one. Some people are destined to do gracious things all their lives, and others to do ungracious ones; and the last has been mostly my lot. I have no special relish for a diet of thistles; but there are times when some creatures must eat them. However, my impression is that I shall not go further than a brief trip to Rome.

He was right in his prognostication. He got to Rome just before Christmas and put in a Memorial setting forth his way of seeing the condition of things Catholic in Australia and his ideas as to the lines of action to be adopted, and Propaganda was satisfied that what had to be done could be done without a Papal Delegate. At the Papal Mass on Christmas Day Ullathorne was one of the assistant bishops at the Pontifical Throne. It was a critical moment for Pio Nono, just after the defeat of Austria by France, and the cession of Lombardy to Sardinia, when the detachment of Romagna and the Legations from the States of the Church was the question of the hour. On the day after Christmas he wrote :²

Poor Pope ! At the great function yesterday, when he communicated, I was just before him on the steps of the throne among the assistant bishops. His eyes were full of tears; and as he wiped them I heard him say, ' Jesu, Fili David, miserere mei.' I could not but contemplate his face, full of tender emotion ! His eyes caught mine; I immediately lowered them, and when I raised them again he gave another glance at my face. He must have seen that I felt with him, and that both keenly and reverentially.

His attitude of mind is defined in the following words, written after his return to England :³

What I feel it my duty to do is to stand by the Pope, as I conceive it is his duty to hold by the deposit of temporal

¹ *Letters*, p. 102.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Oscotian*, 1886, ' Ullathorne number ', p. 113.

possessions received from his predecessors, and not to yield up to usurpers what they cannot take from him without great iniquity.

The following month, February 14, 1860, he organized a great Catholic demonstration in the Birmingham Town Hall, at which he delivered *The Speech on the Question of the Pontifical States*. It must have taken a long time in delivery, for it runs to twenty closely printed pages. It traces the course of the Italian Revolution, and is in the main an attack on the policy of the Buonapartes, in particular of Napoleon III, towards the Holy See. It concluded on the note of loyalty to the Holy Father in his trials :

A Colonna struck Boniface VIII on the face with his mailed hand, and filled Christendom with horror. For ages did that family make expiation for that sacrilegious crime. [Then, referring to Napoleon's policy to Pius IX,] There are blows which go more deeply into the soul than those which spring from the passion of the moment : strokes aimed with calculation from the smooth and insinuating tongue, strokes from the elastic golden pen, strokes which take an insinuating appearance of interest and affection. And there is a mode of exalting a sovereign which is not exaltation. There was a potentate who passed a decree for the exaltation of a Pontiff King. The Pope is the Vicar of that Pontiff King, the representative of His power, as of His ignominies, and the cry which was raised against the Pontiff of Pontiffs and the King of Kings is raised against him : ' We will not have this man to rule over us.' Popes have often endured great sufferings, not from the people, but from a certain class of Emperors and Kings, statesmen and conspirators. We may yet see Pius IX as Pius VII. It only requires such another Napoleon to make such another Pius.

The response was a great outburst of enthusiasm. He wrote :¹

The meeting was a grand thing. Six hundred gentlemen and priests on the platform, 500 ladies in the side galleries, 1,000 persons in the front gallery, 6,000 on the floor. When I called for cheers for the Pope they shouted and jumped till a cloud of dust rose through the splendid hall. The reporters were astonished at the meeting, and said you might have

¹ *Letters*, p. 103.

searched all the Radicals in England and not have got people to have stood and applauded as they did for five hours.

Similar demonstrations of sympathy with the Pope were made throughout the Catholic world: the great rally of Catholic thought and loyalty to the Holy Father in this crisis is well depicted, and the whole situation estimated with insight by Wilfrid Ward in the chapter 'The Roman Question' in the *Life of Wiseman*. There is no doubt that the lovable personality of Pio Nono attracted powerfully the hearts of all who came into immediate touch with him. This attraction was expressed by Ullathorne in a pastoral letter of September, 1862:¹

At a time when other religious societies are waning and dissolving, the members of the Church are drawing into closer communion with their Head. They are thinking of the Pope, feeling with the Pope, speaking of the Pope; and all this concentration of the mind and heart of the Church upon the Vicar of Christ comes of his sufferings, of the injustice he endures, and of his heroic spirit under the trial. On the other hand God has raised up a great Pope fitted for the occasion. Popes have been great in various ways. Pius IX is great by force of his personal character, and through the influence which, by reason of his character, he exercises over the hearts of men. No one ever left his presence without experiencing the sweetness of that overflowing charity and the loftiness of those Catholic sentiments which flow from him with untiring ease and unchanging meekness. His sufferings, borne with such firmness and gentleness, have drawn more souls into his presence than all worldly success could have attracted; and his character has exercised a wider influence on souls than perhaps it ever fell within the lot of a Pope before to accomplish.

In the year 1861, on the anniversary of his consecration, he thus reviews the thirteen years' work in Birmingham:²

Years as they quickly pass draw with them heavy responsibilities, yet give subject for much thanksgiving and gratitude. The diocese is tranquil and is becoming more and more consolidated. The number of persons devoted to

¹ Cited *Letters*, p. 119.

² *Letters*, p. 109.

the good works of the missions increases, and the Catholics, as a body, are zealous and well disposed. I was never before left so long in one place, so as to witness the expansion of works at whose beginning I assisted. I have now been in this diocese thirteen years, which seem like thirteen months.

As will appear in the following chapters, various businesses and controversies external to the diocese greatly engaged his attention and caused him to make prolonged stays in Rome during the years 1861 and 1862. He laments this in a letter of May 1862 :¹

My head has grown very grey with solicitude; but I thank God that there is much to console me in this diocese. For two years past I have been very much engaged in matters that regard ecclesiastical diplomacy and business of various kinds before the Holy See; more, indeed, than with the administration of this diocese: but I hope that after this third visit to Rome in the course of that period, I shall be left again to my own diocesan work.

Such hopes of uninterrupted diocesan work were frustrated. During these closing years of life Wiseman grew increasingly invalided, and his infirmities made him unfit and unable to deal with emergencies. And so it fell to Ullathorne, as the second outstanding personality of the Hierarchy, to step into the breach and take on the rôle of protagonist and chief spokesman among the Catholics in certain grave controversies at once public and domestic. But this did not prevent his going to Ireland in 1863 to preach at the Dedication of the new Cathedral of Ferns at Enniscorthy,² nor the holding in June 1864 of his third diocesan synod. At it he gave his clergy the conference on the priestly office and spirit, which stands second in the volume of *Ecclesiastical Discourses*.

On February 13, 1865, died Cardinal Wiseman. And when, after some weeks of suspense, Manning was appointed by Pius IX Archbishop, Ullathorne was his consecrator.³

¹ *Oscotian*, 1886, p. 145.

² Moran, *Catholic Church in Australasia*, p. 67.

³ Thus, through the line of Archbishops Manning, Vaughan, and Bourne, Dr Ullathorne was the progenitor of the entire present English Catholic Hierarchy, save only one, derived from Cardinal Wiseman.

Manning's advent at Westminster ushered in a new period for the Catholic Church in England; and so this is a fitting place to break off the record of Ullathorne's episcopate in Birmingham in order to turn to wider issues of his life-story. The record of his episcopate from 1865 will be taken up again in chapter XVI.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE HIERARCHY 1850—1860

CANON EDWIN BURTON in his *Life of Bishop Challoner*, and the late Bishop Bernard Ward in a series of seven volumes, have told fully and frankly, in all its lights and shades, the story of the English Catholics from the early years of the eighteenth century down to the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850. At this point Bishop Ward's work was cut short by death. It was his intention to have for title of the next period 'Bishop Ullathorne and his Times', taking him as, not the greatest, but the central and most characteristic figure around whom to group the movements in the Catholic body in the years of development and controversy after the setting up of the Hierarchy: indeed, he left a scheme of chapters for the Life of Ullathorne. And so this biography of Dr Ullathorne has seemed to offer the opportunity of carrying the record on, weaving together the story of Ullathorne's life and an account of the principal episodes in the history of the English Catholics during the forty years from 1850 to 1890, when the almost simultaneous deaths of the three protagonists, Ullathorne (1889), Newman (1890), and Manning (January 1892), closed an epoch of definitely marked characteristics, and the accession of Vaughan at Westminster ushered in a new one, in which English Catholics are still living. The ground has, indeed, been gone over fragmentarily, and in certain episodes with great fulness, in the various biographies of the leading Catholics: in Wilfrid Ward's *Life of Wiseman*, *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, and *Life of Newman*; in the *Lives of Manning*, by Purcell and Leslie; in J. G. Snead-Cox's *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*; and in the *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*: and to all these I am greatly

beholden, especially as quarries of material. But the story has not yet been brought together into a harmonious whole, and treated as an objective piece of history. This Ullathorne's biographer will attempt to do, describing and estimating the chief currents and cross-currents of Catholic life in England during the period that followed the Hierarchy, naturally placing in the forefront, and even perhaps over-emphasizing, Ullathorne's part in it all.

From the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 until his death in 1865, the principal actor was Wiseman. The great mission of Wiseman's life, after harvesting the converts of the Oxford Movement and re-establishing the Catholic Hierarchy, was the drawing of the hereditary English Catholics out of the seclusion and insularity into which they had been driven by three centuries of penal laws and ostracism from public life, and the effecting the fusion of the strong convert element with the old Catholic. He strove to enlarge the outlook of the Catholics; he encouraged them to enter more fully into the public life of the nation, to present openly to their Protestant countrymen living Catholicism and its claims; he sought to bring about in the Catholic body a general renovation of spirit and uplifting in things intellectual and religious alike. And, as one formed in Rome, he aimed at infusing into both clergy and laity a more lively Roman and papal spirit than had hitherto prevailed. As a principal means for effecting the objects he had at heart he sought to foster and promote the spirit and practices of living Catholicism, as it had grown up untrammelled by persecution and penal laws in Catholic lands, and above all in Rome. Wiseman's Romanism, it should be understood, lay in the great and worthy things, and was far removed from that fanatical indiscriminate adoption of Roman fashions in architecture, ecclesiastical art and vestments, or of the popular devotions of southern Italy, which it became with many of the converts. Wiseman's new ideas and methods were looked on with much misgiving by a large section of the old Catholics, including some of the most highly respected of the clergy—e.g., the historian Lingard, a high type of the old school;¹ and they provoked determined opposition in

¹ *Life of Dr Lingard*, by Haile and Bonney.

many quarters; as on the other side, Wiseman had his enthusiastic band of supporters, mostly among the converts.¹

To come now to the narration of the leading events of the first ten years of the Hierarchy. The story of the storm of no-popery madness that passed over the land on the promulgation of the act of Pius IX restoring the Catholic Hierarchy, is well told by Wilfrid Ward in the *Life of Wiseman* (chs. XVIII, XIX).²

Wiseman's pastoral from 'outside the Flaminian Gate', announcing the Hierarchy, and his own elevation to the cardinalate and to the archbishopric of Westminster, was read in the London churches on Sunday, October 13. The next day *The Times* opened the campaign in a leading article stigmatizing the whole proceeding as a 'gross act of folly and impertinence', an 'ostentatious interference', a 'ridiculous and offensive step', a 'daring assumption of power', an 'act which the laws of this country will never recognize, and which the public opinion of this country will deride and disavow'. Wiseman was still abroad and did not reach England until November 11. During this month it fell to Ullathorne, as having negotiated the transaction in Rome, to take the lead on the Catholic side in the attempt to allay the conflagration. He wrote a pacificatory letter, which appeared in *The Times* on October 24, and was printed separately as a tiny tract along with a translation of the Bull. He said:

It is an act solely between the Pope and his own spiritual subjects, who are recognized as such by the Emancipation Act. It regards only spiritual matters. In all temporal matters we are subject to, and are guided by the laws of the land. . . . For my part, engaged as I have been in the negotiations throughout, I know that no political objects are contemplated in it.

The letter called forth angry rejoinders and the flames of the agitation were fanned by religious and political leaders of all types and degrees. After sending the letter to *The*

¹ These cross-currents have been judiciously explained and appreciated by Wilfrid Ward in the works already named, and by J. G. Snead-Cox in the *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, ch. IV.

² See 'Notes' to Newman's *Sermons on Various Occasions*.

Times, he wrote:¹ 'I must be ready to write whatever the emergency may require. There is nobody else to do it, and the Pope and the English Church must not be left unexplained. The whole country is in a boil on the subject.'

On November 7 the following item of news appeared in *The Times*:

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.—It is reported that Bishop Ullathorne, who has lately been distinguishing himself by his correspondence with *The Times* newspaper, will henceforth assume the title of 'His Oiliness'.—*Punch*.

Wiseman arrived in London on November 11, and Ullathorne at once went to see him. He tells us² that he had already set about collecting materials for a pamphlet to be addressed to the public, setting forth the Catholic position. Wiseman, who had received the English papers in Brussels, and had been meditating the matter for some days, begged that it should be left to himself to address the British public, and asked Ullathorne to give him his materials. They were incorporated in the famous 'Appeal to the English People', published on November 19, which produced an immediate powerful impression on the public mind.³ At the same time Ullathorne issued a pastoral letter encouraging his flock in the sudden trial that had come upon them; it was read in the churches of the Birmingham diocese on Sunday, November 18. A few sentences describing the agitation as he saw it at its heat may be given to help us to realize a long-forgotten episode, now wellnigh incredible:

What have we seen? We have seen the Vicar of God and Chief Pastor of Christendom and the prelates of our Church held up in burlesque, and their names and sacred offices exposed to mockery and ignominy in every imaginable shape, and that even in the public streets of our Metropolis, the guardians of peace and of public decency looking on: we have seen our holiest, our dearest, our most saving truths and mysteries blasphemed by deeds, as well as by words, before the ignorant crowd. What have we heard? We have heard

¹ *Letters*, p. 10.

² *Original Autobiography*.

³ Analysis and passages of this remarkable utterance are given in *Life of Wiseman*, I, 556-69.

the First Minister of the Crown pouring out such contempt as a frail mortal can against what we know to be the most holy and sanctifying gifts of our dearest Saviour.¹ We have heard men of the highest station striving to inflame the minds of men, and to raise a moral, or even a legalized, persecution against us. We have heard numbers of Her Majesty's clergy, urged on by this high example, contending in a heated rivalry of calumnies, of insults, and of every manner of wild misstatements, against the truths we profess and the mysteries which console us; against the spiritual acts of our Chief Pastor and against ourselves.

This *The Times* stigmatized as 'violent and incendiary language.' The short appeal to the British public, which Ullathorne had prepared before Wiseman's return, was now altered into an appeal of the Catholics of Birmingham to the sense of justice and fair play of their fellow townsmen;² and on November 19, the very day of Wiseman's great 'Appeal', a public Catholic meeting was held at which Newman moved the adoption of this address. So effective was it that early in December a Town Anti-Catholic Address was defeated at a meeting of nine thousand persons.³ This first public sign of a turn of the tide of agitation must in great measure be attributed to Ullathorne's influence on Birmingham opinion. Wiseman, on his part, followed up the 'Appeal' with a series of public lectures, to which flocked crowds of all religions, and again he achieved an extraordinary triumph.

On February 7, 1851, as a sop to allay the public excitement, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was introduced in Parliament. Four days later Ullathorne intervened with a letter in *The Times*, a whole column of small print, addressed to Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister. After saying once again that the Holy See had no thought of anything except the purely religious and spiritual concerns of the English Catholics, he proceeds:

I have to thank your Lordship for your satisfactory vindication of the Catholic bishops from the charge of having violated the law. The labours undergone to find out a way

¹ Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham.

² Original *Autobiography*.

³ Letter of Newman in *Life of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, I, 319.

of convicting us, so naïvely related in your speech, have proved our full acquittal. We are not then aggressors; for aggression is a crime, and a crime is a violation of a law. The aggression is against us and our Catholic liberties. Yes, my Lord, I grieve to say it, it is not we who are affected by these acts. The hand of persecution points to one class amongst us, whilst it is another that is made to suffer. The persecution falls upon the tradesmen, workpeople, and poor servants—upon unoffending industry and the poor seeking their bread. And see how quietly they have borne it all.

But there is one point for your Lordship seriously to consider. The Hierarchy is established; therefore it cannot be abolished, except through the physical extermination of the Catholic Church in these realms; or, which God forbid, through universal apostasy. How can you deal with this fact? Is it wise and in the spirit of a profound legislation, to put the religious teachers of a large body of Her Majesty's subjects in conscientious opposition to the law—to force them to put the principle of divine law in opposition to a human enactment? Will it aid the sanctions of the State to force us into a position where, standing, as we are bound to do, upon the law of God and our conscience, we are compelled to count for nothing enactments which we can only consider as assaults upon the cause of Heaven and of our souls—enactments which, in fact, come from no divine fountain of justice, but are the offspring of party contests and sectarian dislikes?

Next day 'the thundering monster', as he called *The Times*, devoted an angry leader to 'that most infelicitous of letter writers, Dr Ullathorne.' 'What manner of man must this Bishop of Birmingham be'; 'astounding powers of intrepid assertion . . .'

Dr Ullathorne roundly tells the Premier that he is compelled to count for nothing an enactment which comes from no divine fountain of justice. This is, at any rate, plain and open, if his word is to be relied on. As soon as the command of the Pope conflicts with the law of the land of which he is a citizen, he is ready to obey the former and disobey the latter. Is there in this no divided allegiance?

The letter was quoted also in the House of Commons. A few days later he wrote to a friend:¹ 'My own view is very

¹ *Letters*, p. 11.

simple, and one quite calm and peaceful to myself. A few bishops would have to go once into gaol, and the whole matter would be ended.'

The Bill took six months going through Parliament, and even in the greatly modified form in which it became law, it was a dead letter from the beginning, the fine of £100 for assuming the title of an English see never being inflicted.

When the excitement of the Papal Aggression¹ had been allayed, the first question that presented itself for solution was the completing the number of bishops of the Hierarchy. The eight Vicars Apostolic automatically occupied the principal sees, but five sees were lying vacant, for which bishops had to be found. Wiseman felt no little anxiety as to the appointments to be made, and his concern is betrayed in a letter of April 1851:¹

As to the Hierarchy. If our body is not strengthened, and if the choice of bishops is not made with reference to this consideration as well as with regard to local wants and personal claims, not rising higher than being good and respectable people, we shall never be equal to the wants of the times. If soft good persons are put in, I do not know what will become of us. I know there is little choice, but in that let us have the best.

Newman had confided to a friend in February his fears that the Hierarchy was premature:² 'We are not ripe ourselves for a Hierarchy. Now they have got one, they can't fill up the sees, positively can't.'

Wiseman's particular concern was over the appointment to Southwark, the diocese which with Westminster had halved the old London District, and embraced London south of the Thames, and the counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Berks. In the following letter comes out strongly the sort of difficulties with which Wiseman was faced: 'The worst anti-Roman clergy in England are in Southwark—Tierney, Rock[others now forgotten]—they are either actively

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1919, p. 18. This series of letters was not known to Wilfrid Ward; they are preserved at the English College, Rome, and were printed by Cardinal Gasquet.

² *Life of Newman*, I, 260.

or passively opposed to all progress, and are working hard to get [as bishop] Dr Cox. It would be fatal.¹

In the summer of 1851 the five sees were filled up, Dr Thomas Grant, Rector of the English College in Rome, being appointed to Southwark, and Dr George Errington to Plymouth—they will bulk largely in these pages; the other names will hardly occur.

The outstanding Catholic event of 1851, and one big with future consequences, was the conversion of Archdeacon Manning on April 5. By the middle of June he received the priesthood at Wiseman's hands, and in the winter he went to Rome.

It is enough just to mention Newman's lectures on the *Present Position of Catholics in England*, delivered in the Birmingham Corn Exchange the same summer, an aftermath of the Aggression agitation; and the Achilli trial that was their sequel. The affair made a great stir at the time, but hardly finds a place in general Catholic history (see *Life of Newman*, chs. ix, x).

The year 1852 witnessed a great event in the renewed life of the Catholic Church in England, the holding of the First Provincial Synod of Westminster. It was held at Oscott from July 5 to 17. About fifty took part in it, the thirteen bishops, deputies from the Chapters, heads of the religious Orders and of the ecclesiastical colleges, theologians brought by the bishops or especially invited, among the latter Newman and Manning. The Synod was celebrated with the full prescribed pomp and ceremonial, with pontifical Masses, and sermons preached by Wiseman, Newman and Manning. It was, in diverse ways, one of the great triumphs of Wiseman's life, and of Newman's: Ullathorne has left on record both. Of Wiseman:²

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1919, p. 13. Dr Edward Cox was the President of St Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware, 1840-51, the ecclesiastical college of the old London district. He, Rock, and Tierney had all been formed at Old Hall, and were typical representatives of the old school. They were solidly learned, Rock as ecclesiologist, whose reputation holds to this day; Tierney as historian and antiquarian; Cox as translator of various German theological works. They had the old-world sober and sterling piety of the days of the Vicars Apostolic, and they had little liking for the new fashions Wiseman was bringing in.

² *Autobiography*, p. 258.

The conducting of this Synod was the masterpiece of Cardinal Wiseman. He it was who drew up the decrees, excepting the constitutions for the Cathedral Chapters, which were committed to Bishop Grant and myself. The unity and harmony which pervaded that Synod is one of the most delightful reminiscences of my episcopal life. Certainly no one but Cardinal Wiseman, who concentrated his whole capacious mind upon it in one of his happiest moods, could have brought it to so successful an issue, or have given it so great an amount of ecclesiastical splendour.

And of Newman :¹

There were assembled the thirteen bishops with their theologians, the delegates from the thirteen newly created Chapters, the heads of the religious Orders, the rectors of the ecclesiastical colleges, and the officials of the council. The sentiments of that moment will never be forgotten; for deep and soul stirring as they were, they found their expression in Dr Newman's exquisite discourse, published under the title of 'The Second Spring'.² During its delivery Cardinal Wiseman, in the presidential chair, wept tears of consolation. The bishops and clergy were nearly all in tears. And when the preacher came out from the Synod, they crowded upon him, giving full flow to the ardent outpourings of their gratitude. It was an indescribable scene; a scene so overpowering to the gentle preacher, that Dr Manning rescued him from it, and quietly accompanied him to his room.

Another eye-witness has left on record his impressions :³

All were weeping, most of us silently, but some audibly; as to the big-hearted Cardinal, he fairly gave up the effort at dignity and self-control, and sobbed like a child.

It marked indeed the zenith of Wiseman's life. He was in his fiftieth year, in the full maturity of his powers and brilliant gifts, his enthusiastic optimism undamped as to the near realization of his dreams and hopes of the coming reconciliation of the English people with the Holy See. The

¹ *Restoration of the Hierarchy*, p. 108.

² In *Sermons on Various Occasions*.

³ Canon Crookall in O'Meara's *Life of Bishop Grant*, second edition, p. 78.

Synod may well have seemed to him as the re-birth of the Catholic Church in England, a re-birth the harbinger and earnest of a new life. And as he looked around him on the bishops of the Hierarchy he had brought into being, and the representatives of the Chapters and the religious Orders, and the chosen theologians, among them the two most conspicuous and illustrious converts from the Oxford Movement, to whom he looked for such great things in the Catholic propaganda he still so whole-heartedly believed in—it is not to be wondered at that a man of his emotional temperament should indeed have melted into tears of thankfulness and joy.

The work of the Synod was to meet the needs of the new situation created by the Hierarchy, and to draw up a body of legislation based on the common canon law, but adapted to the conditions existing in England.¹ Statutes and decrees, running to sixty pages, were passed, divided into thirty sections and regulating for Bishops, Chapters, Clergy, Regulars, Nuns, for the administration of the Sacraments, and the other elements of Catholic Church life. The proclaimed motive of the Bull setting up the Hierarchy was to establish a reign of normal canon law in England; yet this was not carried out in its fulness, for England still remained under Propaganda as a 'missionary' country. Though the bishops were highly pleased with their improved position, the clergy suffered disappointment at finding that their canonical position and rights had not been secured to them. Especially had they hoped that the canonical territorial episcopal sees would carry with them as corollary a system of parishes with parish priests enjoying the legal position and rights, as of fixity of tenure, belonging to parish priests in Catholic countries, such as Ireland or France. The bishops saw objections and difficulties in the way, and considered that most of the missions were of too inchoate a character to allow of their being made canonical parishes. Before the Synod they had laid the case before Propaganda, and had obtained a decree sanctioning a postponement in carrying out this part of the common law.² As a compromise they

¹ On the Synod see Ward, *Wiseman*, II, 54-67.

² Decree of April 21, 1852; Synod, p. 135.

were authorized to choose out some of the principal missions and institute in them 'missionary rectors', irremovable except at the instance of a formal ecclesiastical court, but without the other rights of parish priests. This arrangement was declared in the Acts to be a step towards the gradual introduction of the parochial system; but no advance was made for more than sixty years, until England was withdrawn from the control of Propaganda and the new Codex of Canon Law came into operation, in 1918, under which the missions were erected into parishes with parish priests. The compromise did not satisfy the clergy. Moreover, many of them had looked for a voice in the choice of their bishop. Such voice was confined to the canons, and was limited to presenting three names in alphabetical order, the Holy See reserving the right to appoint any one of them, or to go outside of the list.

For these reasons there was after the Synod among the clergy a widespread sense of disappointment, in that the Hierarchy had not brought to them what they had looked for. And so the Synod was followed by a certain reaction against Wiseman. There had always been a party among the old Catholics who thought he was going ahead too fast, and resented the way in which he 'took up' the converts, and above all the encouragement he gave to Faber and the London Oratory. This was an offshoot from Newman's Birmingham Oratory, and was inaugurated by Wiseman himself at Pentecost, 1849, in temporary premises in King William Street, Strand; it was the first church in London served by a community. Faber's original programme was to throw to the winds the traditional prudence and reserve of the hereditary English Catholics, to treat England as if it was a Catholic country, and to act in the matter of devotions and practical Catholic piety as if London was Naples.¹ While certain first extravagances have died down, and we are now acclimatized to the popular services, hymns, and devotions introduced by Faber at the Oratory; to the English Catholics of the 'fifties, brought up on the austere diet of Challoner and Alban Butler and Hay, the novelties caused surprise and misgiving, and the Oratory services were

¹ See *Life of Faber*, pp. 367, 469, and *passim*, p. 338 to end.

accused of being 'methodistical'¹ Ullathorne, who was sprung from the old race, while able to emancipate himself from its narrowness, has done justice to its sterling religious qualities, giving utterance to the doubt whether the newer race, for all the 'varied attractions' and 'outward luxuries of religion' provided for it, can compare in essential personal religion with the Challoner Catholics of penal times, such as he had known in his early manhood.² And so among the hereditary Catholics Wiseman's brilliancy and wider outlook and forward policy caused distress, and were generally looked upon askance, as an unwise hastening of the pace, and his confidence in the converts was resented as a slur on those who had borne the heats and the labours of the day.

Wiseman's inmost mind on the converts and the hopes he reposed in them, and also his own greatness of soul and greatness of heart, are, perhaps, nowhere so well revealed as in a letter of 1841 to a very kindred spirit, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle:³

Let us have an influx of new blood, let us have but even a small number of such men as write in the Tracts, so imbued with the spirit of the early Church, so desirous to revive the image of the ancient Fathers; men who have learned to teach from St Augustine, to preach from St Chrysostom, and to feel from St Bernard—let even a few of such men, with the high clerical feeling which I believe them to possess, enter fully into the spirit of the Catholic religion, and *we* shall be speedily reformed, and England quickly converted. I am ready to acknowledge that in all things, except the happiness

¹ Such words as the following naturally were gravely displeasing to the hereditary Catholics:

'Here in England Mary is not half enough preached. Devotion to her is low and thin and poor. It is frightened out of its wits by the sneers of heresy. It is always invoking human respect and carnal prudence, wishing to make Mary so little of a Mary, that Protestants may feel at ease about her. It is not the prominent characteristic of our religion which it ought to be. It has no faith in itself. Hence it is that Jesus is not loved, that heretics are not converted, that the Church is not exalted, that the sacraments are not rightly frequented, or souls enthusiastically evangelized. It is the miserable unworthy shadow which we call our devotion to the Blessed Virgin that is the cause of all these wants and blights, these evils and omissions and declines' (Faber's Preface to *Treatise of Ven. Grignon de Montfort*).

² *Pastoral Letter*, Lent, 1867, reproduced in *Letters*, p. 180.

³ *Life of de Lisle*, I, 290.

of possessing the truth, and being in communion with God's true Church, and enjoying the advantages and blessings that flow thence, we are their inferiors. It is not to you that I say this for the first time; I have long said it to those about me, that if the Oxford divines entered the Church, we must be ready to fall into the shade and take up our position in the background. I will gladly say to any of them *oportet me minui*. I will willingly yield to them place and honour, if God's good service require it. I will be a co-operator under the greater zeal and learning and abilities of a new leader.

And so we find Wiseman, in pursuance of these ideas, when so many of the most notable of the Oxford school came into the Catholic Church, giving them scope in various ways and promoting them, as in inviting Newman and Manning to the Synod and making them the preachers thereat.

Of all Wiseman's promotions of the converts that which occasioned the greatest criticism and resentment was the making W. G. Ward—convert and layman—theological lecturer at St Edmund's College, Old Hall. St Edmund's was at once a secondary school and the theological college wherein were trained and formed the divinity students of Westminster and Southwark. Ward was the first comer of the prominent Oxford converts, September 1845, a month before Newman. On Newman's retirement from Oxford to Littlemore Ward became the recognized leader of the advanced party among the Tractarians. His book *The Ideal of the Christian Church* caused as great a stir as Tract 90 itself, and for it he was deprived of his degrees by Convocation. After his reception he went to live with his family in a house close to St Edmund's, and there pursued the philosophical and theological studies that were the great attraction of his life, holding frequent intercourse with those at the college engaged in the same pursuits. He was disappointed at what he considered the lack of cultivated intellectual interests. Wilfrid Ward draws a judicious and sympathetic picture of what his father found at Old Hall.¹ The joint heir with Ushaw of the old Doway College of the English secular clergy, it was the embodiment of all that was finest in the old Catholic tradition, with its simple but deep religious spirit, but also with its limitations and contracted

¹ *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, ch. 1.

outlook.¹ Wiseman was greatly dissatisfied with the state of things in the college. We have already heard his fears lest the President, Dr Cox, should become Bishop of Southwark (p. 196). This was averted, and a short time afterwards, August 1851, he wrote joyously:²

The college is cleared of its terrible obstruction. Dr Cox has cheerfully left and accepted the mission of Southampton. The whole system will be reformed, and a sound high-toned ecclesiastical spirit will be introduced.

Ward's appointment as lecturer, first in moral philosophy (October 1851), and then in dogmatics (1852), was part of Wiseman's plan for the renovation of the theological college. This measure naturally caused widespread dissatisfaction and criticism among the clergy.

Shortly after the Synod appeared the first signs of differences between Wiseman and the bishops. Wiseman's personality was so predominant, and his influence in Rome so great, that he was in effect the autocratic ruler of the Church in England, and the bishops were becoming restive under his virtual dictatorship. On the ground of his being, through the Papal Aggression episode, *persona ingrata* with the Government, they worked to bring it about that another of their number should be the official representative of the Catholic body in what concerned the Catholic soldiers and sailors and their chaplains, as also the chaplains to prisons and public institutions. Dr Grant was appointed, and for a long period the Bishop of Southwark was the recognized ecclesiastical superior of the Catholic military and naval chaplains.

The beginning of 1853 witnessed the first overt act in the long series of controversies and disputes that saddened and embittered the remaining years of Wiseman's life. Differences had arisen between him and Grant over the division of

¹ In November 1845 Newman visited Old Hall; his impressions are of interest: 'I was much taken with those St Edmund's people. Everything I saw impressed me with the one idea you got elsewhere, of *simplicity*.' Again: 'Dr. Cox [the President] is not more than thirty-nine, but looks fifty. He is mild and taking in his deportment. I liked him very much. There is, apparently, little learning or cultivation there—they are behind-hand' (*Life of Newman*, I, 103, 109).

² *Dublin Review*, January, 1919, p. 22.

the properties and funds of the London District between the dioceses of Westminster and Southwark, into which it had been divided. As no agreement could be come to, Grant took the case to Rome. In January 1853 Wiseman wrote despairingly to his confidential agent in Rome, Mgr Talbot, who will figure largely in the following pages:¹

Here is a sad business about to happen. . . . The very idea of a suffragan of the new Hierarchy, almost within a year, going off to Rome to carry thither a cause against his Metropolitan, and that that one should be Dr Grant, *homo pacis meae*, put at Southwark because he was my friend, is fraught with scandal. But I regret to say it, after the first few weeks that he was in England, he became estranged, kept aloof, and made those men his counsellors who had always favoured and headed the old party against me before he came. . . . I foresaw all along what would take place. There has been no cordiality, no sympathy; months pass without his calling on me, and every little complaint, every discontent has gone to him.

But you must be tired with this unfortunate affair—bishops quarrelling about *meum et tuum*, *frigida verba*. What I hope is that the scandal of a bishop starting off for Rome on such an errand and dragging his Metropolitan after him (for if he goes, I suppose I must) may be prevented. Let him be desired to send his case in writing—let me see it, and I will reply in full, and let the Holy See decide between us.

Unhappily, instead of being dealt with at once, in the way Wiseman asked for, the case dragged on at Rome for seven years.

Wiseman's solicitude was by no means limited to the case of the clergy and the educated laity: equally solicitous was he to provide for the religious needs of the London Catholic poor in all their spiritual destitution, and of the Irish immigrants pouring in after the Famine to all the great cities of England. A letter of his in August 1851 gives a vivid picture of his preaching in the open air to a crowd of poor Irish in a London slum.² The need of providing such extra-parochial ministrations, beyond the powers of the ordinary pastoral clergy to supply, and the method conceived by Wiseman for meeting the need, were fraught with consequences of a magnitude that neither he nor any

¹ Purcell, *Manning*, II, 56.

² *Dublin Review*, 1919, p. 22.

other could have imagined. Here should be read Wiseman's long, tragic, pathetic letter of October 1852 to Faber, printed by Purcell (*Manning*, II, 2) and by Ward (*Wiseman*, II, 115). After reciting how, when he came to London, there was no religious community of men in it, and how he had called in Order after Order in the hope that they would supply bodies of priests to help in ministering to the religious needs of the poor by extra-parochial work, in giving missions and in other ways, he relates sorrowfully how he had applied to one after the other—Jesuits, Redemptorists, Passionists, Marists, Oratorians—and how they all had declared themselves, for one reason or another, unable to respond to his call. He goes on to say that in despair he has asked Manning to form an institute of secular priests living in community, on the lines of the Oblates of St Charles Borromeo at Milan, to be at the disposal of the archbishop for any special extra-parochial works he might call them to, as a source of reserve power. The works he mentions include missions, retreats, courses of sermons, direction of convents and institutes.¹

This is the place to introduce Manning. But first it must be pointed out that the letters cited in the preceding pages, wherein Wiseman gives utterance to his dissatisfactions with the condition and mentality of the old Catholic clergy, and the state of things existing at Old Hall, as also his disappointment at the failure of the Regulars to co-operate in his works, date from 1851 and 1852, at a time before Manning had in any way entered into his life; so that his attitude and ideas were his very own, and not, as is often supposed, instilled into him or inspired by Manning; though there can be no doubt that at a later date they were encouraged and accentuated by Manning.

Henry Edward Manning cut short the prospects of a brilliant career in the Church of England, when, in consequence

¹ It is worthy of note that at the same time, on going to Birmingham, Ullathorne was feeling the same need. In 1850 he wrote: 'What I want is a small body of missionary priests under myself, to go about wherever sent. Mr. P——, a thoroughly good man, and some others, want community and the heroic life' (*Letters*, p. 9). The idea never found any realization. It may be said that all the Orders mentioned above have long since been doing the works that Wiseman asked for from them in vain.

of the Gorham Judgement, he came over to the Catholic Church, April 1851. From the first he was attached to Wiseman by ties of closest friendship. Ordained that summer, in December of the same year he took up his residence in Rome, and at once came into personal relations with Pius IX, with whom he soon became a great favourite. The succeeding winters until 1857 were spent in Rome, Manning preaching the English Lenten sermons, seeing the Pope nearly every month, who treated him with special marks of kindness,¹ and cultivating the friendship of the Cardinals and the coming men in the Curia. Thus he became well known in Rome and in touch with all the currents of ecclesiastical politics. This familiarity with the Roman Court gave him a personal influence, which he was able to turn to full account in the sequel. In 1854 Manning settled in to work in Westminster. Wiseman's ideas and aspirations for widening the outlook and raising the tone of the Catholic body naturally made a strong appeal to him, and he embraced them with all the zeal of the convert and the intransigence of the reformer. He waxed ever more and more in Wiseman's confidence, shared his counsels, helped him in his ever-increasing infirmities, fought his battles, tried to shield him from anxiety and strife, receiving in his own person all attacks made on him. For the last ten years of Wiseman's life Manning's relations with him were those of the most devoted service and chivalrous friendship; but it has to be admitted that Manning's always clear-cut convictions, fanaticisms they must often be called, again and again pushed Wiseman into extreme positions which he would hardly have taken up of himself, and fortified him in maintaining them with a pertinacity little like the great Cardinal in his best days. All this will, I think, appear in the sequel.

In the same year, 1855, that Manning began to take an ever-growing share in the affairs of Westminster, Wiseman took the unfortunate step of obtaining as coadjutor bishop Dr George Errington.² His friend from boyhood, Errington had been his Vice-rector at the English College in Rome and

¹ Purcell, *Manning*, II, 19.

² I have been able to add to ch. X a valuable memoir on Archbishop Errington, the most authentic account extant of the 'Errington episode'.

at Oscott, and their differences of character and method were well known to both. Errington, then Bishop of Plymouth, was from the first apprehensive as to how the combination of such divergent characters and temperaments would work, and held back; but Wiseman overbore these hesitations. His idea was that Errington would relieve him of the routine administrative work of the diocese, and so he would be more free for those wider activities of preaching, lecturing, writing, wherein he felt his gifts and powers lay for making that appeal of Catholicism to the public opinion of the country, to make which he felt to be his special vocation, and which none other could carry out as he. It was the mistake of Wiseman's life. Errington was a man of great personal goodness, of rectitude and high principle; but a man of law, hard and unbending. I can remember as a boy, when in his old age he was living at Prior Park and was a frequent visitor at Downside, the 'hawk-like' look and the countenance, kindly, but with strength and resolute will printed on every line. He had little sympathy with Wiseman's plans of altering the old-fashioned ideas and ways of the English Catholics, and of giving rein to the converts to bring about any leavening of the Catholic body. Thus Errington was just as truly the representative of the old Catholics, with their strongly conservative views, and their distrust of the converts and resentment at the proceedings of the more active among them, as was Manning the representative of Wiseman's forward movement, and of the converts' impatience, bordering on contempt, of the timid and narrow attitude of the old Catholics. That two such incompatible men, agreeing in nothing but personal goodness and inflexible will, should thus have been brought together in 1855 as the principal influences playing upon Wiseman, was, indeed, an irony of fate.

It was in April of that year that Errington became Wiseman's coadjutor, with right of succession, bearing the title of Archbishop of Trebizond. In July was held the Second Provincial Synod of Westminster, again at Oscott. The synodal sermons were preached by Wiseman, Ullathorne, and Faber—Ullathorne's is No. III in the volume of *Ecclesiastical Discourses*. The business transacted was for the most part confirmatory of the legislation of the Synod of



George Errington

GEORGE ERRINGTON
Archbishop of Trebizond

1852; the only fresh legislation was concerned with the administration of the temporalities and finances of the missions.

The clash between Wiseman and the coadjutor was not long averted. It arose over Ward's position as lecturer in theology at St Edmund's. Errington looked on the arrangement whereby a layman, a convert, self-taught in theology, was lecturer to the divinity students, as irregular and improper, and at a visitation of the college he brought about Ward's resignation. Wiseman, however, would not accept the resignation, but removed the Vice-president, Ward's principal opponent in the college, and appointed in his place Fr Herbert Vaughan, newly ordained, just back from Rome. Wiseman, who temperamentally shrank from quarrels and differences, and found it difficult ever to say 'No', stood in some awe of his terrible coadjutor, straight and inflexible as a rod of steel: he could not muster up the courage to tell him outright what he had done at Old Hall, but went to see him off at the station, and when the train was actually in motion remarked casually: 'By the by, I have arranged with Mr Ward that he is to continue in the chair of dogma.'

Errington took this as a test case of his lack of influence with the Cardinal, and as a sign of the correctness of his forebodings that his coadjutorship would not work well; and he wrote a letter to Rome asking to be released from a position that was plainly going to be impossible.¹ This was in August 1855, barely four months after his appointment. The authorities in Rome, however, and Wiseman himself, pressed him to continue as coadjutor, and he yielded, against his own judgement and inclination.

Wiseman commissioned him to make the visitation of the diocese, and he undertook it, but on the condition that no appeals from his decisions should be entertained. But the archbishop found himself unable to support the coadjutor in certain acts of extreme harshness against priests of high standing and character, and reversed his decisions. This offended Errington, who had stipulated that all his acts as coadjutor should be supported; and he declared he could no

¹ Ward, *Wiseman*, II, 261; chs. xxv and xxvii give the best account of the Errington episode.

more undertake the work of visitation. But it was over Manning and his Institute of Oblates that the quarrel became irremediable. What ensued was in effect a duel between the two men, Errington and Manning; but much more really was it a clash of principles. It will be seen that in the early stages Errington was the aggressor.

Wiseman's lament in the letter to Faber of 1852, on his failure to get help for extra-parochial spiritual work in London from the various religious Orders he had brought in, has been referred to, and his statement noted, that in his disappointment he had turned to Manning, then a new convert, to form a congregation of Oblates of St Charles, a body of secular priests living in community under rule, at the disposal of the bishop for any kind of work that might be needed. Such was the beginning of the Oblates of St Charles, a conception emanating not from Manning, but from Wiseman himself; one, however, which Manning at Wiseman's bidding took up with eagerness and conviction. For all that, the thing was not rushed. The project was first formulated in 1852; Manning moved slowly, went to Milan and Rome to study the Rule of St Charles and the practical working of the Institute, made his programme and his adaptation of the Rule with much thought and discussion, and enlisted recruits; so that it was five years before, in 1857, the plan was mature enough to be brought to the birth. He tried to enlist Errington's sympathy, but encountered instead uncompromising opposition. Errington distrusted Manning profoundly: distrusted him at once personally, and as the most active representative of the converts in pushing their (in his eyes) new-fangled ideas of reform and progress. And so he laid himself out determinedly to crush the infant institute of the Oblates, and destroy the growing influence of Manning in Westminster and in Rome. He suspected all kinds of underhand schemes and foresaw all kinds of dangers to the diocese. As the one who was to succeed Wiseman, he certainly had a right to object to the making of a situation he would have to inherit and deal with; but the Oblates became a positive obsession to him, and his opposition went beyond all bounds of reason. Wiseman's backing, however, overbore all opposition, and on Whit-Sunday, 1857, Manning inaugurated in a

hired house in Bayswater his foundation of Oblates of St Charles, for the rest of his life cherished as his offspring.

The troubles were, however, by no means yet over. We have seen that Wiseman had welcomed the retirement of Dr Cox in 1851 from the presidency of St Edmund's, Old Hall, as the opportunity he was desiring for introducing a new régime. He put in as President an old Edmundian, Dr Weathers, a safe and moderate man, though not one fully according to his own heart. But to carry out the programme of reform he imposed in 1855, as Vice-president, Fr Herbert Vaughan, the future Cardinal, a young man of twenty-three, who had just completed his studies in Rome, and was newly ordained. Vaughan and Manning had lived together in the same college in Rome, and a strong and fast friendship had grown up between them, so that Vaughan was known to be the devoted adherent of Manning and all he stood for. He had already offered himself as a volunteer for the Oblates, and two or three other such volunteers were recruited from among the college staff. On the inauguration of the Oblates in 1857 they all formally joined, and so became the subjects of Manning.

An outburst of hostility was called forth by this ill-conceived step. To have placed the college wholly in the hands of the Oblates would have been strong action that might have justified itself by success. But to impose on an unwilling President a Vice-president with all the untamed enthusiasms of Herbert Vaughan in his youth, and with him two or three other Oblates, for the avowed purpose of reforming the college and raising its tone, over the head of President and staff, was a violent half-measure foredoomed to failure;¹ and Manning must bear the blame of abetting, if not counselling, a step that fanned into a flame all the opposition to himself and his Oblates, and was the primary cause of the lamentable controversies of the next eight years. Such handing over to Manning's influence the college wherein were educated and trained the clergy of the diocese, was gravely displeasing to the Chapter of Westminster and the bulk of the clergy. And not only of Westminster: St Edmund's was also the ecclesias-

¹ This part of the story is best told by Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, ch. IV.

tical college of Southwark, which possessed interests and claimed rights in it; and the bishop and clergy of Southwark, already in conflict with Wiseman over financial issues between the two dioceses, considered that these rights had been overridden indecently, in that a step touching them so nearly had been taken without their having any voice in the matter.

The Westminster Chapter held that its canonical rights had been invaded, and that, in virtue of decrees of the Council of Trent, they, in the person of two canons appointed by the bishop for the purpose, had a right to a voice in the management of the diocesan seminary. They determined to take the case to Rome. In April 1857 Manning had been made, by personal act of Pius IX, Provost of the Chapter of Westminster. Wiseman was greatly pleased at the appointment, though he had not ventured to suggest it, knowing how unpopular it would be with the old clergy. The promotion enhanced Manning's influence, and gave him a stronger fighting foothold. And so when the canons made their appeal to Rome, they had to fight not only the Cardinal but their provost. On the other hand, they found a helper in Errington, who entirely sympathized with their opposition to Manning and the Oblates, and using his knowledge of canon law, drew up their case for presentation at Rome, in spite of Wiseman's protests that his coadjutor should help him, not oppose. Thus the anomalous position arose, that the archbishop had his coadjutor against him, and the canons their provost. How the canons strove to bring the provost to bay is related in the *Lives of Manning*, and how Wiseman quashed certain of the proceedings, ordering them to be expunged from the book of Chapter minutes, and how the canons refused to produce the book for the Cardinal's inspection. In December 1858 the Chapter appeal went to Rome on the point of law, whether the canons deputed for the purpose had or had not the right to interfere with St Edmund's College in virtue of the decree of the Council of Trent. The case developed into an attack on the institute of the Oblates and on Manning; it also raised the wider question of the legal position and rights of the new Chapters in regard to the Bishops. Wiseman sent another to Rome as his agent, but Manning followed to defend himself and the Oblates from the

attack made on them, and indirectly to fight Wiseman's battle. To his disgust he could not obtain a decision. Rome, as is its way, sought to get the disputes settled at home, and referred the matter back, to be dealt with locally at the next Provincial Synod.

Wiseman's agent had been instructed to urge the necessity of keeping the Oblates at Old Hall as the means of getting the rising generation of clergy out of the old Catholic rut inherited from penal times, and infusing into them the new Roman and ultramontane spirit that Wiseman was seeking to propagate. He was instructed also to sound the authorities confidentially as to the possibility of Errington's being removed from the coadjutorship, Wiseman having come now to the full conviction that their ideas and temperaments were too diverse to allow of sympathetic co-operation. Unfortunately Errington came to learn of this move, not from Wiseman himself, but from Rome, from Mgr Talbot, and in a form that stung him to the quick—that he was radically anti-Roman and retrograde in his policy. Errington indignantly resented the implication that opposition to the ideas and innovations of Manning and his group of converts was disloyalty to the Holy See, resented that the old ways that had kept generations of English Catholics faithful through three centuries of persecution should be dubbed 'Gallican' by converts of a day; and he was deeply hurt that Wiseman had taken this step without telling him. The impasse at Westminster was recognized at Rome, and as a way of solving it Errington was sounded as to whether he would accept the archbishopric of Trinidad. He replied that in face of the aspersions thrown on his Catholic spirit and loyalty he would not of his own act give up his position and rights at Westminster; but he would accept deposition, or translation to another position, at the hands of the Pope without a word; and he asked to be allowed to come to Rome to state his case and make his defence. This was in April and May 1859. The general sympathy of the English bishops and clergy ran with Errington, and some of the bishops made their voices heard in Rome against his threatened deprivation of the coadjutorship. In their perplexity Propaganda turned to Ullathorne for advice. In June Cardinal Barnabò, the Pre-

fect of Propaganda, wrote to him that it had been represented at Rome that divergencies of views had arisen between Wiseman and his coadjutor, so great that there could be little hope of their being able to work together harmoniously at Westminster; and, on the other side, that Errington's removal would be displeasing to the bishops and would inflict a grave injury on the Catholic Church in England; and he asks Ullathorne, 'whose prudence is well known to me', to state confidentially the actual facts and his ideas as to what should be done.¹ Ullathorne's answer is not to hand; no doubt it is in the Propaganda archives.

The Provincial Synod, to which the disputes between Wiseman and the Westminster Chapter had been referred by Rome for settlement, was to be held in July 1859 at Oscott. Wiseman looked forward to it with foreboding, because Errington made it plain that he was going to support the Chapter in its contest with the Cardinal. The previous two Synods had brought to Wiseman triumphs and joys; but this one was destined to bring him infinite disappointments, disgusts, griefs that filled with sorrow the last years of his life. The technical point of law raised by the Chapter's appeal against him was, indeed, soon settled in his favour. The Synod easily decided that St Edmund's and the other two ecclesiastical colleges, being mixed schools of ecclesiastical students and lay boys, were not seminaries according to the mind of Trent, and so did not fall under the laws regulating seminaries; and on this ground the Chapter's appeal was ruled out. The Vicar General, as representing the Chapter, made on the spot a formal acceptance of the Synod's decision, and an apology, and it was accepted without demur by the Chapter. Other questions, however, arose, which were destined to set Wiseman at variance with his suffragan bishops.²

¹ Oscott.

² It is necessary to explain that in Catholic terminology 'suffragan bishop' bears a different meaning from that which it bears in English usage. In a Catholic Hierarchy the bishop of the principal see in an ecclesiastical Province is Archbishop or Metropolitan, and the other diocesan bishops are Suffragan Bishops, exercising full independent ordinary jurisdiction, each in his own diocese. An Assistant Bishop is called, not a Suffragan, but an Auxiliary, if he do not enjoy the right of succession to the see, a Coadjutor if he have that right. The Coadjutor succeeds as a matter of course on the Bishop's death.

The principal matter in controversy among the bishops was the government of the colleges wherein the candidates for the secular or pastoral clergy received their education as boys and their formation as theological students. This was an outstanding difficulty that had arisen with the establishment of the Hierarchy, and had been shelved at the first two Provincial Synods. There were three of these colleges—St Edmund's, Old Hall, Ware; St Cuthbert's, Ushaw, Durham; St Mary's, Oscott, Birmingham. They had been established in the days of the old four Vicariates, as the colleges respectively of the London, Northern, and Midland Districts. The old Districts had been subdivided into dioceses, so that Old Hall was now the joint college of Westminster and Southwark, Ushaw of the five dioceses in the North, and Oscott of Birmingham and the three other dioceses carved out of the Midland District. They were more than seminaries or theological colleges; they also fulfilled the function of secondary schools in which lay boys destined for careers in the world were educated along with the future ecclesiastics. These three were flourishing secondary schools in the hands of the secular clergy; besides them were others conducted by Regulars, especially Jesuits and Benedictines. The question of the government of the three secular colleges had to come up for settlement at this Third Provincial Synod. The point in dispute was formulated as follows by Canon Morris, then Wiseman's secretary, afterwards Fr Morris, S.J. :¹

The three bishops in whose dioceses the colleges were situated—Wiseman (Old Hall), Ullathorne (Oscott), the Bishop of Hexham (Ushaw)—regarded it as part of their ordinary jurisdiction that the management of the colleges should rest solely with them, while at the same time they were prepared to educate students for the other bishops interested, in numbers proportionate to their share of the funds. But the bishops thus interested were not content without a share in the management being also allotted to them: the colleges should, in fact, be governed each by a Board of bishops.

When the Synod met, Wiseman put forward a *schema* for the government of the colleges giving effect to the claims of himself and the Bishops of Birmingham and Hexham to rule their respective colleges untrammelled. A counter-

¹ Cited *Life of Wiseman*, II, 339.

schema, drawn up by Dr Errington and Dr Grant, the Bishop of Southwark, was put forward. By it the full jurisdiction in spirituals of the diocesan bishop was maintained; but in temporals, in regulation of studies, and in discipline, the colleges should be under the government of a Board composed of the 'co-interested' bishops, which should have the appointment of the Rector or President, the diocesan bishop to be chairman of the Board with a casting vote. This system of government was carried at the Synod, Wiseman, Ullathorne, and the Bishop of Hexham being in a minority.

Wiseman, who at any rate towards the end of his life had grown almost morbidly sensitive to defeat or even opposition, was acutely hurt at this action of the Synod; and when that same winter he took the Acts of the Synod to Rome for confirmation, he strove to get them in this part reversed, and his own *schema* adopted. But a still weightier matter brought him to Rome. Deeply chagrined though he was at the action of the Synod, he was much more chagrined at the attitude of his coadjutor, who not only in the matter of colleges, but solidly throughout the Synod, had opposed him in everything. That the coadjutor should make himself Leader of the Opposition against his principal was not only indecent, but was against the canon law—so Wiseman was advised. But more than this: he now feared that if Errington should become Archbishop of Westminster, his own policy would be reversed, and his principal life-work undone. So that much wider interests were at stake than mere victory in a quarrel over the colleges and the Oblates.

Accordingly he went to Rome, in December 1859, with the set purpose of bringing about Errington's removal from the coadjutorship. Errington arrived at Rome two days after Wiseman. The breach between two good and upright men, who had been friends from boyhood, was a tragedy. By far the best balanced account of the whole story, wherein even-handed justice, with recognition of rights and wrongs on both sides, is meted out to all the actors, is Wilfrid Ward's.¹ The whole makes an interesting and very human drama, not

¹ *Wiseman*, chs. xxiv, xxv, xxvii, and Appendices. He summarizes at considerable length the statements put in by Wiseman, Errington, and Manning; Purcell's account (*Manning*, II, v), giving letters that passed during the affair, is indispensable, but certain misstatements are corrected

disedifying, but hardly 'one of the most famous episodes in Church History.'

Though from his first interview with Wiseman Pius IX was practically satisfied that Errington's removal was inevitable, it took seven months to settle the matter. Errington asked for leave to put in a statement of his side of the case, and took four months writing a *scrittura* of enormous length, mostly an attack on Manning and the Oblates. When it became clear that the issue was being joined over the Oblates, Wiseman called Manning to Rome in February 1860, to defend himself; he also himself put in a long document, a great tribute to Manning, the most convincing apology for him ever penned, which well deserves to be read by all who would form a just judgement on the controversy.¹ All possible efforts were made to induce Errington to resign: he was offered archbishoprics and bishoprics anywhere in the British possessions, even an Apostolic Delegation; the Pope himself on more than one occasion 'asked, prayed, conjured' him, even as a personal favour, to resign and accept another bishopric; he urged that it was certain either he or the Cardinal must go—it would kill the Cardinal—did he wish to see him die? Errington adhered steadfastly to the position that he would accept sentence of deposition by the Pope without a word, but would not resign by his own act.² At his request the case was put into the hands of a commission of three Cardinals, to read Errington's own *scrittura*, with the answers of Wiseman and Manning. While writing his statement Wiseman was taken dangerously ill through a heart attack and haemorrhage, so that great anxiety was felt by his friends. The three Cardinals reported unanimously that it was necessary Errington's coadjutorship should cease. This was on June 24; on July 5 the Pope saw Errington again and made a final appeal to him to resign, in face of the certainty of removal: he was asked to engage to resign, but not at the moment, and to accept of another employment. He agreed to see Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of Propaganda, and the

by Ward. More letters are printed in the Appendix to Leslie's *Manning*, and see ch. X; and letters of 1859, 1860, in *Dublin Review*, January, 1923.

¹ *Wiseman*, II, 354-65.

² Errington's own notes, 'George v. Pius' (taken on the spot in the Pope's presence!), are given by Leslie, pp. 133, 135.

following day, after a three hours' interview with Barnabò, he seemed prepared to act on the Pope's offer. Three days later he returned, saying he would not do so, adding, ' I suffer violence, I suffer injustice ', and he left Rome the next day.¹

On July 13 Barnabò received orders to make out the decree of deposition, and it was issued on the 22nd. It is printed by Ward (*Wiseman*, II, 393). It makes no charge against Errington, for no canonical charge had been lodged against him by Wiseman; but it sets forth the fact that incurable differences had arisen between Cardinal and Coadjutor, to the great detriment of religion; that the Holy Father had tried in vain to bring about reconciliation and unanimity between them, and then had vehemently exhorted Errington, and even prayed him in the Lord, for the good of peace and utility of the Church, to resign and accept the Archbishopric and Apostolic Delegation in Trinidad, offered to him as a conspicuous testimony to his virtues and merits; that Errington, though again and again he had declared himself ready to obey any command of the Pontiff, could not be induced to make the voluntary resignation asked of him: consequently, for the good of religion in England, His Holiness has judged that he is to be freed from the office of Coadjutor with right of succession, and to be deprived of any right whatsoever in the see of Westminster.

It is impossible not to give to Errington the same sort of respectful sympathy that we give to Colman after the Council of Whitby. And the causes they stood for were wonderfully alike. But they stood for a past, however fine: the future, with its life and promise, lay with Wilfrid and Wiseman.²

¹ *Wiseman*, II, 375-8.

² The Council of Whitby, on the Yorkshire coast, 664, was held to decide the question whether the Celtic practice in the computation of Easter, and in other minor points, should be maintained in the Northumbrian kingdom, or be superseded by the Roman practice. The protagonists were, on the Celtic side St Colman, on the Roman St Wilfrid. The real question at issue was whether the Christianity of the northern and greater portion of England should remain insular, or should fall in with the great Continental currents that flowed from Rome. The decision was in favour of Rome and solidarity with Western Europe. Colman bowed to it, but resigned his bishopric of Lindisfarne and withdrew to the Celtic districts of Scotland and thence to Ireland (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, chs. xxv, xxvi).

CHAPTER IX

IN THE LISTS AT ROME (1859—1863)

IN Wiseman's battle with Chapter and with coadjutor Ullathorne had no share; but now new controversies were to arise in which he would be called on to play a leading part.

We have seen that when Wiseman went to Rome in the winter of 1859, it was his purpose to secure not only Errington's retirement, but also the cancelling of the decision of the Synod on the government of the three secular colleges, and the substitution of his own *schema*, before the Acts should be confirmed by the Holy See. To maintain the Synod's decision, Dr Goss, Bishop of Liverpool, went to Rome in February 1860, armed with procuratorial letters from the bishops of Southwark, Newport, and three more. At first Wiseman seemed to be on the way to carry his point. The *schema* passed by the Synod was rejected by Propaganda, and Wiseman's *schema* was sent back to the bishops, with instructions that they were individually to offer their comments upon it and their proposals for the government of the colleges. Thus in opposition to Wiseman's proposals there would be, not a concerted counter-proposal of the bishops as a body, but a dozen different proposals, in great measure no doubt neutralizing one another. It is no wonder that Wiseman's friends openly spoke of it as a 'triumph' for the Cardinal.

But yet another matter of controversy was running between Wiseman and the bishops. For many years the question of Catholic trusts, properties and funds alike, had been before the bishops, and as early as 1848 efforts had been made to obtain parliamentary recognition of them. The bishops, in concert with leading Catholic lawyers, had consulted together and various measures had been proposed to successive Govern-

ments for introduction in Parliament in order to place the trusts on a secure legal footing; but for one reason or another such proposals had failed to come to an issue. Finally, in 1860, the Government moved on its own account, and carried through Parliament an Act supplementary to the general Charitable Trusts Acts, and called the Roman Catholic Charities Act, to come into operation in 1861: by this Act the legal registration or enrolment of all Catholic charitable and religious trusts with the Charity Commissioners was made obligatory.¹ In regard to this Act the opinions of the bishops were divided. On the one side the view was taken that the trust properties and funds would be endangered by such registration, because in many of them was included as a condition the celebration of Masses, a 'superstitious use' in the eyes of the law, which might invalidate the trusts. Moreover, by such registration the principle of the law would be recognized, that the *altum dominium* of the trust is vested in the Crown and the Lord Chancellor; whereas by the canon law the *altum dominium* of all ecclesiastical property is vested in the Church and the Pope.² Wiseman held this view strongly, and maintained that the law being merely penal ought not to be complied with. But the bishops nearly all took the other view: they considered that compliance with the law did not mean a recognition of the *altum dominium* of the Crown, and the leading Catholic solicitor of the day gave the opinion that there would be no practical danger to the trusts by their enrolment with the Charity Commissioners. Accordingly, individual bishops began complying with law in different manners; for instance, one bishop, on advice from his solicitor, enrolled trusts of land, but not funds. The bishops claimed that each had the right to form his own judgement and to act on it. But the Holy See considered the issues too grave to be dealt with in so confused a manner, and in March 1861 Propaganda instructed the Cardinal, with a view to the coming Low Week meeting, to communicate to the bishops the following notice: 'The Catholic Charitable Trusts Act being now law, and it being probable that it will

¹ For text of this Act see Lilly and Wallis, *Manual of Law Affecting Catholics*, Appendix R.

² See Purcell, *Manning*, II, 127.

soon be put into execution, what course is to be pursued by the bishops with reference to it and the Government? It is considered of the greatest importance that a common line of action be adopted by the bishops.'

It was this matter of the trusts that called Ullathorne into the lists in the contest of the bishops with the Metropolitan. The story has not yet been told as a connected whole, nor has the case ever been stated from the side of the bishops, but has hitherto been known only from the correspondence of their opponents, Wiseman, Manning, Talbot (of whom more anon). A dossier of letters of 1860-1, left by the late Bishop Clifford, and placed in my hands by the Bishop of Clifton, makes it possible to set forth the other aspect of the case, and to give a coherent account of Ullathorne's share in it; this dossier is supplemented by another placed at my disposal by the Archbishop of Cardiff, of letters between Ullathorne and Brown of Newport.

The story of the Low Week meeting of 1861 and its sequel has to be constructed out of these dossiers of letters, the more important of them being Ullathorne's. It has to be premised that friction between the Cardinal and the bishops had been for some years growing more and more acute. As early as 1853 we have seen Dr Grant, the Bishop of Southwark, making an appeal to Rome against Wiseman in the matter of the division between the two dioceses of the church property and trust funds of the old London District. Grant had also objected to the introduction of the Oblates of St Charles at St Edmund's College, where the Southwark students, no less than those of Westminster, were educated by right for the priesthood. The differences between Metropolitan and suffragans had been the dominant note of the Synod of 1859, culminating in the defeat of Wiseman's *schema* for the government of the ecclesiastical colleges. Moreover, though they had little desire to have Errington as Metropolitan, the bishops looked on the move to deprive him of the coadjutorship as an injustice, and some of them had sent a remonstrance to Rome against it.¹ And it is certain they were all actuated by distrust and dislike of Manning's ever-growing influence over Wiseman and with Pius IX: it was asserted that Wise-

¹ Purcell, *Manning*, II, 100.

man 'governed the diocese through Manning, and saw everything through his eyes.'¹ Of Wiseman it has to be said that, though not yet sixty, his health was utterly broken and his nerves shattered. Fatal diseases were closing in upon him; he suffered chronically from diabetes, and was liable to severe heart attacks, and to complaints involving serious surgical operations, so that again and again during these years his life was in danger. These infirmities inevitably told on mind and temper. He shrank from conflict and responsibility; he was no more the large-minded genial Wiseman of former days, but had grown irritable and morbidly sensitive to opposition.² His doctor told one of the bishops that his illness rendered him incapable of looking all round a big question, and obstinate in maintaining his own views.³ Rightly or wrongly, probably both, the bishops felt that Wiseman's ideas and acts were now inspired by Manning, and this they greatly resented.

In such conditions the Low Week meeting of the bishops, 1861, took place, and, needless to say, it was not a happy one. The archbishop was alone in his view regarding the trusts; the suffragans, basing themselves on the opinions of the Catholic lawyers, held that the danger to the trusts would be more real in evading the law than in complying with it; propositions embodying the views of the majority were adopted; and it was voted unanimously that Dr Ullathorne and Dr Clifford, the Bishop of Clifton, the junior bishop, but Roman trained and perhaps the most able and learned among them in theology and canon law,⁴ should be commissioned to go into the case more thoroughly and report at another meet-

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, p. 122.

² He was himself aware of this. In a letter to Manning in 1862, he writes: 'I dare say that often I am found irritable and worried. I ought to check it, and with God's help I often do, with great effort and after-pain. . . . There has come upon me a fretfulness about trifles, which I knew was a symptom of the complaint (diabetes). I trust that at least before God this may form some excuse for what man may not have so easily overlooked' (*Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 176).

³ Letter of Bishop Brown in the Clifford dossier.

⁴ William Clifford, brother of the eighth Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, was born in 1823, and having made his course of studies in theology and canon law in Rome with great distinction, he became Bishop of Clifton in 1857. He was one of the most prominent of the English bishops, and will figure in these pages as the friend of Ullathorne and Newman. He was

ing, to be held in a month's time. This meeting was held at the end of May; Wiseman was not present; a letter was despatched to Propaganda setting forth the case as the bishops saw it, and the reasons that had prompted their decision that the law ought to be obeyed. Wiseman on his side sent in an account of the Low Week meeting, along with a statement of his view of the case. In August came an instruction to the bishops; I have not found a copy of it, but the covering letter to Wiseman from Barnabò, Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, says he will find it entirely in accord with his wishes, and it is clear that it also contained a rebuke to the bishops for opposing the archbishop in the matter.

The bishops did not like the letter. Clifford wrote to Ullathorne on August 28: 'As an answer to our letter it is a most extraordinary one, and shows that the Cardinal must have written to Rome a very strange account of the meeting.' The whole situation is best set forth in Ullathorne's letter of September 1 to Bishop Brown of Newport:

The letter of Propaganda divides into two distinct propositions: that we acted without the Cardinal Archbishop, and that we can in nowise take advantage of the Trust Act or co-operate in its purposes. But before we enter into the second question, it appears to me that we ought to be put in our right position to the first.

I do not see how the grave charge laid against us, of acting without the Cardinal Archbishop, can be cleared up until we are exactly informed as to what has been said to Propaganda that has caused the impression existing there. And as the charge is most grave as against the episcopal body, I conceive we ought to request a full statement of its grounds. And I equally think that we ought, whilst requesting that statement, to put forth an historical relation of the actual facts that occurred.

It ought to be clearly stated that the Cardinal Archbishop summoned the meeting, presided at it, and though he absented himself from part of the discussions on the score of his state of health, he put the questions to the vote, suggested alterations and expansions of the propositions, which suggestions were compiled with, and collected the votes. And that he alone deviated from the ordinary rules of our meetings by

of pronounced 'liberal' tendencies, and was an active member of the 'inopportunist' opposition at the Vatican Council.

giving no vote, and by requiring that the letter should be signed by the junior bishop as secretary, instead of being sent in the usual form, either signed by His Eminence as the result of the general sense of the meeting, or signed by all the bishops present.

I conceive that the incidents in the earlier meeting, and the mode in which the bishops were treated, should be clearly stated, and with honest plainness, for those incidents explain what it was that led to the second meeting.

Either the Holy See intended the body of the episcopate to act with the Cardinal Archbishop in common council, and that we should jointly discuss our opinions, and present the result of them; or it intended us to receive the directions of the Cardinal Archbishop implicitly, and suppressing our several and joint judgements, to act in blind obedience on His Eminence's decisions: for a veto on his part is equivalent to this.

This last I cannot think to have been the intention of the Holy See; and yet it is on this that we now, in my humble opinion, ought to ask for clear information. For the first mode of acting with the Cardinal Archbishop is precisely what we have done. We have substantially acted in our meeting as we should have done synodically; viz., we have given the result of our several and joint opinions, and have presented the judgement of the episcopate under the presidency of its local head.

If the Holy See intends us to act in some unusual way, to suspend our powers of exercising any judgement, even for report to the Holy See, we ought to have the very clearest and most minute instructions as to the new method required of us; and that, before we can proceed to any common action. And if that is not intended, we ought not to be left in our present perplexity.

When we clearly know how Propaganda intends that we shall act, we shall be in a position to either act, or to make representations, but not before, with respect to our relations with the Charitable Commission. My own impression is that Propaganda has been led to suppose that we have acted apart from the Cardinal Archbishop, and not under his presidency; and that it is not their intention that we should forgo our common right of interchanging our opinions and joining our judgements. I presume this on principles of common law.

When Propaganda knows exactly and historically how the facts occurred, and when it knows the perplexity into which we are thrown as to the exact interpretation we are to put upon its instructions as to the mode in which we are to act, then,

and not till then, shall we be able to consider what we have to do, and what we have to represent, before we can proceed.

But until we have the most clear and precise directions as to the mode in which it is intended we should act with the Cardinal Archbishop, and how far it is required that the body of the episcopate should, in this most important affair, on which the whole temporal well-being and much of the spiritual well-being of our dioceses hang, suppress their own judgements, and even the representation of them to the Holy See, I do not, for my own part, see that we can take any ulterior action, without causing further perplexity and further confusion.¹

To Dr Brown of Newport as the senior bishop it fell to take the initiative in securing organized action on the part of the bishops. After consultation with Clifford, Grant, and others, he addressed the bishops in a circular, asking if they should depute two of their number to represent their case at Rome; and if the two deputies should be Ullathorne and Clifford. All but two replied affirmatively by return of post, and within a few days one of the outstanding adhesions came in. A form of procuration from the bishops to their deputies had to be drawn up, and the task was committed to Dr Grant, as conversant with the forms of the Roman courts. On his draft being submitted to Ullathorne by Brown, Ullathorne expressed his dissatisfaction in a characteristic reply, September 18:

Dr Grant's draft of a letter of procuration appears to me extremely defective. He prostrates himself before Propaganda and asks them to judge the case after he has explained it; and that is all very well, but he says nothing of his conviction that the conduct of the episcopate has been misrepresented, and of the need there is of that being cleared up. Dr Grant would, of course, under any circumstances, lay himself down and say, 'Scourge me'; it is his character. But a whole episcopate rebuked on false grounds should, I think, act with more firmness and dignity. However, it is for the bishops to say what form of procuration they will give to their delegates.

The form of letter which we suggested for your Lordship to write, we thought should come from you, as senior bishop,

¹ Two copies of this letter exist—the draft and the actual letter. The above text is made up of both, on purpose to bring out in clearest light the issue between the bishops and Wiseman.

and that the senior bishop would be the proper person to write in the name of the rest, and that this would give more tone to our transactions. But if we are to be like timid mice, putting our heads out of so many holes and then drawing them back again, nothing will be done as it ought to be done.

For my part I simply wait for the directions of the bishops, and am ready to comply with their wishes; but if the bishops do not agree upon a course and give a competent procuration, I do not feel at all anxious about it, and should be relieved from bearing the chief odium in this affair.

I do not for a moment imagine that Propaganda could refuse to receive a deputation; if they did do so, I should simply take my own course for my own part of the case, and that course would be of the very simplest.

At last a satisfactory form of procuration was drawn up, and the signatures of the bishops were attached to it, after the inevitable difficulties in getting some of those who had voted for the delegation to Rome to sign the necessary document when the time came for taking action. And even so, as is always the case, one of them, after signing, wrote privately to Manning, Wiseman's agent in Rome, explaining that he had not really meant it, and was not in sympathy with the delegation, but had not liked to seem to hold aloof from the other bishops, etc. Armed with their letter of procuration from the bishops, Ullathorne and Clifford set out for Rome and arrived November 1, 1861. Manning followed as Wiseman's agent, arriving before the end of November.

It was now that Ullathorne first came into contact with Manning. They were known to one another, of course, at the Synods and on other occasions; but now they entered into close personal relations, antagonistic at first, but friendly; and henceforward Manning was to be, next to Newman, the principal personal influence in Ullathorne's public ecclesiastical life. It should be noted that Manning now held the title of 'Protonotary Apostolic', the highest grade of Monsignori at the Roman Court. This promotion had been obtained for him by Wiseman when they were together in Rome in the spring of 1860, in order to enhance his position and prestige when acting as Wiseman's procurator at Rome.

In order to be fair to Manning, he should be allowed to

make the following ordered exposition of the things he stood for—it is a letter of June 1859, just before the Provincial Synod:¹

. . . It seems to me that the work of the Church in England has so rapidly become both so much larger and so much more exacting, that men are needed now who, twenty or even ten years ago, were comparatively not required. The first thing I see is that the Church has begun to touch upon the English people at every point, and that entirely new demands are made upon it. Before the Emancipation, and even until the Hierarchy, the work of the Church consisted :

1. In ministering to the old Catholic households and missions on family estates ; and

2. In ministering to the Irish settlers driven over by poverty or drawn by industry into our large towns, etc.

Now, for these two works the English priests were eminently fit from their great goodness, devotion, and detachment from the world.

But since the Church has re-entered into the public and private life and order of the English people, entirely new kinds of work are demanded.

1. First, the contact, and sometimes conflict with English society in all its classes, from the lowest to the highest—the most educated, intellectual, and cultivated—requires a new race of men as teachers, directors, and companions.

2. Next, the whole work of the Church in relation to the Government in all the public services, civil and military, at home and in the colonies, needs a class of men of whom we possess very few.

3. Thirdly, the Catholic laity, including Catholics by birth, are beginning to be dissatisfied with the standard of education, both in themselves and in their priests. The close contact with the educated classes of English society forces this on them.

4. Again, a large number of our laity, chiefly converts, are highly educated, and our priests are, except individuals, not a match for them.

5. This touches on a large subject, which I can only put in few words. The educated laymen, in London at least, are passing out of the spiritual direction of the secular clergy of the diocese. They find their spiritual and intellectual wants insufficiently met, and they go to the religious bodies. I think this a very serious matter for the diocese, and for all its active works ; and I see no hope of redressing it, unless

¹ Purcell, II, 139.

Spanish Place, Chelsea, and Warwick Street can be made vigorously efficient, both spiritually and intellectually, before five years are out.

6. Now, there is another matter which gives me real anxiety, and that is the state of many of our ablest and most active laymen. There is a tone in matters of education, government, politics, and theology, which is free up to the boundary of legitimate freedom, if not beyond it, and they are men who deserve a good and fair treatment. Moreover, they cannot be put down or checked like boys. I am seriously afraid that we shall have a kind of de Lamennais school among some who, like him, were intellectual champions of the Church, and nothing will produce this so surely as snubbing. They could be easily directed by anyone whom they thought fair or friendly, especially if, in the way Dr Newman has done, he grapples with their intellectual difficulties.

I could add a great deal more, for the subject is so large and varied that I have only begun it.

It seems to me that all this comes round to what we used to talk of—namely, the raising the standard of the future secular clergy, the first step to which is Council of Trent seminaries, of which we have not yet got one. And I do not believe that seminaries will ever be what they ought to be in England unless they are directed by secular priests who have learned to live by rule, and who can act with unity of mind and purpose. I do not think anyone has a fuller sense than I have of the imperfections of our Congregation [the Oblates]; but I only say, 'Let somebody do better, and we will gladly give place.' At least such a body as ours is better than the discordant and shifting set of men who are looking to go out upon missions. These changes are the ruin of all stability of discipline and spirit. Besides, no man really devotes his whole powers and life except to the one work in which he intends to persevere. But if the seminary [St Edmund's] were offered to us now, we would not take it yet, and that because we hope to do it one day, and to do it as it should be done. To try too soon would be to fail; and a failure would be the greatest obstacle to succeeding one day when our men are ripe.

I have written on these subjects because you hear all personal matters from the Cardinal, and I do not like talking about Dr Errington and Dr Grant; the latter I think disproportionately mischievous, and I think he will be a thorn in the Cardinal's side as long as he is so near to London. I trust that the former will soon be where he can really be of use. In England I believe he would be an obstruction to the



Geo. Talbot.

MONSIGNOR GEORGE TALBOT

work and expansion of the Church. If he were in the diocese, I am sure that many men would leave it.

This will be recognized by all as a straightforward and sober expression of far-seeing and enlightened views, that must command respect and sympathy; and certainly Ullathorne would have been in general agreement with them. Unfortunately there was at all times a certain intellectual fanaticism in the way in which Manning held any idea that was dear to him, and in those years he was a thoroughgoing partisan who could not brook opposition. Anyone who differed from Wiseman in anything—as later, anyone who differed from himself in anything—was in his eyes a low type of Catholic, national, Gallican, anti-Roman, anti-papal; and each one of Wiseman's causes was in its turn a matter of life and death for Catholicism in England. Associated with Manning was a small group of familiars: Faber, W. G. Ward, Coffin (afterwards Bishop of Southwark), Herbert Vaughan, and Talbot. They all in their letters used unmeasured language, denouncing the bishops, the old clergy, the Catholic laity, and, above all, Newman, as holding low, disloyal, un-Catholic views.

The last-named of the above group of Manning's friends is going to play so prominent a part in what follows, that a few words of introduction are necessary. Mgr George Talbot was the younger son of Lord Talbot of Malahide. He was a convert of Wiseman's in 1846, and had been received into the Church, confirmed, and ordained by him, so that he was henceforth attached to him by ties of enthusiastic friendship. There is no need to characterize him, for if ever man stood self-revealed in his letters, it is Talbot. These letters gave its chief piquancy to Purcell's *Life of Manning*. A well-meaning, fussy man he was, of almost childlike simplicity, with a love of managing things and persons, from the Pope downwards. His relations with Pius IX were curious: he was the Pope's most confidential friend and favourite, the one whose function it was to break to him unpleasant news. Consequently his influence was great—he once said¹ he would rather not be Cardinal, for he could, as

¹ Purcell, II, 226.

he was, exercise more influence than any Cardinal. He surely overestimated his power over Pius, but there can be no question it was very real and very effective. His somewhat resembled the position of the confessor of the Kings of France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—influence without responsibility; and he was a potent factor for nearly twenty years in managing the Catholic affairs of England. He was whole-heartedly and fanatically with Wiseman and Manning in all their ideas and struggles, and an uncompromising opponent of Errington, the Chapter, and the bishops. They deeply resented this unseen power, and felt that the scales of justice were unfairly weighted against them by the 'backstairs influence' he wielded.¹

A born diplomatist of infinite acumen and tact, Manning was not long in establishing his ascendancy over such a mind as Talbot's, and was able to make use of him to the utmost when fighting Wiseman's battles at Rome, and later on his own. The fidelity with which Manning served Wiseman all these years was begotten not merely of loyalty to a beloved chief, but of whole-hearted belief in the importance of principles held with passionate conviction. It cannot be doubted that much of the intransigence of Wiseman during these last years was in reality the intransigence of Manning; nor that much of the opposition to Wiseman on the part of Chapter and bishops was in reality opposition to Manning. Manning was in Rome that winter of 1861-2 as Wiseman's procurator, and so the contest between bishops and archbishop was fought out between Ullathorne and Manning as protagonists.

The materials for the remainder of this chapter and the chapter that follows are the various collections of letters, already for the most part in print. But they are lying about in several different places and have never yet been co-ordinated and made to unfold a consecutive story. The most important of these collections, as also the most racy, is the Manning-Talbot correspondence printed by Purcell in the *Life of Manning*; but the account is incoherent, the documents being set in no order of either chronology or subject-matter, so that the student who would understand the story has to put the letters in order for himself; and Purcell has fallen into

¹ So a letter of Bishop Goss of Liverpool in the Clifford dossier.

more than one serious error, as will be pointed out.¹ The list of printed collections of letters is given in the subjoined note.²

In addition to the two definite questions at issue—viz., the trusts and the government of the colleges—complaints had been lodged at Propaganda by the suffragan bishops concerning the Cardinal's manner of dealing with them. They alleged that he acted autocratically, lording it over them, overriding their views, and expecting them to yield to his dictation. This feeling finds expression in Ullathorne's letter of September 1 cited above. The matter led to a formal inquiry by Propaganda. The bishops put in letters of complaint, and Wiseman put in a counter-statement.

In the following letter of November 8 to Brown, Ullathorne gives a roseate account of the preliminary interviews with Cardinal Barnabò and with the Pope:

We arrived on All Saints at midnight, having suffered delay at Civita Vecchia owing to the ruptures of the railway and road by a magnificent storm we met at sea. We saw Cardinal Barnabò next day, and in a long conversation stated the facts of our case plainly. We were advised to speak with episcopal freedom to the Pope, and Cardinal Barnabò undertook to prepare the way, which he afterwards did. A few days after we had an equally grave explanation with the secretary, Mgr Capalti, who gave close attention and said the question must evidently be resumed from its commencement, and the views of the bishops be carefully considered. We have put in a letter asking for the statements on the question laid before Propaganda from the year 1847 up to the present date, and have been encouraged to hope that we shall obtain them. We had an audience this morning. The Pope was exceedingly kind, entered into the subject, said that all he wished was that truth and justice should be done without

¹ See Ward, *Wiseman*, II, Appendix F.

² 1. The undigested mass of Purcell's *Life of Manning*, II, chs. v to xii.

2. Leslie's *Life of Manning*, chs. x, xi, and Appendix.

3. Wiseman-Manning correspondence printed by Leslie, *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, and January, 1923.

4. Manning-Ullathorne correspondence, *Dublin Review*, April, 1920.

Besides these a number of unprinted letters have been placed in my hands.

The two Lives of Manning will be referred to simply as 'Purcell' and 'Leslie'; the references to Purcell are all to be understood as being to Vol. II.

favour, and he seemed struck with some of our remarks. From all we have yet heard in official quarters, we see plainly that the question is not understood, and that the first thing we shall have to do will be to show what the Act is not. It gives not our property to Government. It gives not up the administration. It is nothing special to us as Catholics. In short, positive ideas have been entertained that have no existence. Cardinal Barnabò read to us Cardinal Wiseman's letter announcing that Dr Manning was commissioned on his part, and expressing a hope that the affair will be concluded in peace and charity. I can only say in conclusion that every disposition is evinced to give us a full and fair hearing.

So much was intended for communication to the bishops, but there was added a private note for Brown :

I have spoken plainer words than have been heard here for some time about our treatment and position, and the danger that would result from sacrificing us to the reputation of any individual. My strongest expressions were repeated by Barnabò to His Holiness. There is quite a disposition to encourage us to speak out. When the Pope asked us on what Cardinal Wiseman grounded his line of action, we could only say we did not know, that we were left in darkness and looked for light to Propaganda. He seemed astonished. But nothing could exceed his kindness, and at points where we made an explanation, he said, 'There seems no difficulty there; at all events you shall have justice.' The Pope is remarkably well and in good spirits; he joked and was very easy and familiar, and gave us words of eulogy on leaving. I am satisfied that Barnabò is not sorry to have a complete *éclaircissement*.

Equally roseate was Manning's report on December 2 to Wiseman of his opening audience :¹

I had an audience of a long half-hour to-day, and hope that matters have taken a good beginning. The Holy Father received me with great kindness and spoke with great freedom and openness about your Eminence, and the bishops and England. He spoke of you in the terms he used last year, which were everything you could desire, and said, 'Il Cardinale è bene merito della Chiesa in Inghilterra.' The following are the heads of what I said : That the present crisis with the bishops was inevitable, considering the former state of England and the peculiarity of your mission beginning in

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, p. 122.

1838, which has been of the nature of a *Visita Apostolica* with all its invidiousness and odium in finding fault, correcting, and introducing a new, and that a Roman, order of things. This the Holy Father fully recognized and enlarged upon. That this *sfogo* [outburst] will do good. The Holy Father fully appreciates the personal causes of this feeling, and dwelt upon them. That in the merits of the pending questions your Eminence was beyond all doubt in the right. I gave as examples the colleges at the last Synod, and the trusts now. The Holy Father saw the point of the latter at once. I then said that I believed that no great difficulty would exist in coming to agreement. The Holy Father then spoke very kindly and considerately of the allegations which have been made as to your Eminence's manner in dealing with the bishops, and allowed me to say many things in explanation.

Thus each side was well satisfied at the way the case was going: in Rome every litigant thinks he is winning his case, and most come away in the belief that the case has been won, and the decision will be given in his favour, in a short time—half of them, or more, to be disillusioned at home.

Manning lost no time in establishing relations with Ullathorne. On December 13 he wrote again to Wiseman:¹

I must say for Dr Ullathorne, that he is very kindly and friendly, and not disposed, so far as I ever hear, to aggravate the difficulties of the case.

And again on 16th:

I have had full and open conversations with Dr Ullathorne, and think he understands many things of which before he had no explanation, and the state of his feeling to you is kindly. He has told me the line he has taken in many things which relate to your Eminence, and I think he has acted fairly and in a friendly way.

It would be of slight interest to pursue in detail the turns of fortune in the cases in litigation; though they called forth much heated feeling at the time, they were not of the first magnitude. A summary of the results will suffice at the point when, in the summer of 1863, they all at last had received their final settlement. But the interplay of the personalities of such men as Pio Nono, Wiseman, Ullathorne,

¹ Purcell, pp. 108, 109.

Manning, even Talbot, when in conflict, will always be of interest to the religious psychologist and the student of ecclesiastical human nature. The editor of the volume of *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne* tells us that the two or three letters from Rome at this date are selected from 'the mass of letters referring to these negotiations'; unfortunately such letters seem to have disappeared. Thus we have only the letters of Manning and his friends. The historian must lament this; but for Ullathorne's biographer it is of greater use to know what Manning thought of Ullathorne, than what Ullathorne thought of Manning, however interesting, and valuable too, his shrewd sententious sayings would have been for the still much-needed balanced appreciation of Manning.

At the outset the skill and influence of Manning and Talbot were so great that they seemed to be weighing down the scale in Wiseman's favour, and it looked as if they were going to score for him victory all along the line. At this juncture Ullathorne took the unprecedented step of petitioning the Pope for permission to resign his bishopric and retire to his monastery. The motive of this act was very differently construed. Manning spoke of it frankly as a move in the game. The following letter of January 25, 1862, announces the news to Wiseman:¹

Dr Ullathorne has heard that your Eminence has been writing a *scrittura riservata*, and that you telegraphed to me. On Thursday last he told me that he had a document ready to send to the Holy Father—namely, his own resignation. This is policy. And yesterday I heard from Mgr Talbot that it is gone in. Now I observe in your Eminence's *riservata* no mention of Dr Ullathorne. And I think it of great importance that the Holy Father should understand the relations between your Eminence and Dr Ullathorne in the last ten years.

Wiseman's reply, February 3, shows how much he was distressed at the news:²

I send you the close of my second *scrittura re* Ullathorne. I could never reasonably expect that the Pope should see or

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, p. 124.

² *Ibid.*, October, 1921, p. 177.

hear such a long and miserable story. But Cardinal Barnabò might read it, and, if necessary, give His Holiness a *sunto* [abstract] of any part requiring information. I had not the remotest idea that the book [the *scrittura*] had such grave grounds of quarrel as could not be set right but by his resignation or simply my removal. I thought that on most points we were pretty much together. . . . I am really too fatigued to go on writing more. I pass nights awake, and my old worst symptoms are hovering about my chest. . . . Do all in your power to prevent Dr Ullathorne's inconsiderate step from being approved. In all sincerity I say that his would be a very serious loss and calamity, both to his diocese and to our episcopate. I hope my vote under present circumstances will have some weight. I must leave it to God to reward all your pains and troubles for me.

Before this letter was written the matter was already concluded. Ullathorne may tell it in his own words, in a letter of February 6, to Mother Margaret, no doubt:¹

You must have marked that my letters lately have not come from a heart altogether at ease. Worn out with many cares, about three weeks ago I sent a letter to the Pope direct, in which I stated my weariness of mind and body, arising from a long succession of solitudes, beginning in Australia, down to the present time. I represented to him my physical and mental state, and implored him to allow me to retire to a monastery of my Order. It reached the Pope the day he was taken ill, which I regretted when I knew it. Mgr Talbot came to me twice, and said that though he was not deputed to speak, yet that the Pope would not consent, and I had better not persevere in my request. But I said: 'I have put myself before His Holiness, and he will answer me; and I don't forget that the men of old time sometimes bolted clean away.'

On the Feast of the Purification [February 2] I had my answer, and in a way I could little have anticipated. In the midst of the great function at St Peter's, after he had chanted the Benediction of the Mass, the Pope called me quietly before his throne, on the steps of which the assistant bishops all stand. I went up and knelt before him, and bending kindly towards me, he said: '*In nomine Sancti Petri*: from this holy chair of truth I say to you that you are not to think more of retiring. You are to remain at your post, to go on with the work committed to you, for you have still many things to do.'

¹ *Letters*, p. 114.

I kissed his ring and returned to my place amidst the wonderment of all onlookers; for only the two assistant Cardinals and a master of ceremonies, and perhaps the nearest of the bishops, could have heard what had passed. I withdrew to my place feeling completely calm and firm, as I have done ever since, having those words constantly before me. Yesterday I preached on the martyrdom of St Agatha at the Irish College church. Cardinal Antonelli, by whom I sat at dinner, afterwards whispered to me, 'You must have felt that what the Pope said to you under circumstances so solemn was far more tranquillizing than if he had spoken to you in private audience'; and Mgr Capalti, the secretary of Propaganda, said: 'The Pope has told me what he said to you, and said under the Chair of St Peter;¹ you must be well content and at peace.' So you see I have reason to be satisfied that I wrote my letter, as it has brought me clear light.

The following day Manning sent Wiseman a report of his audience with the Pope:²

The Holy Father began about Dr Ullathorne's resignation and told me that he had said to him at St Peter's, '*In nomine St Petri*: Monseigneur, restez dans votre place et travaillez pour l'Église jusqu'à la mort.' This was the least formal way of ending a matter which has been interpreted only in one way here. I then said all that is just of Dr Ullathorne personally and as a bishop, and added that this *rinunzia* would show what infirmities still belong to a man otherwise so good. . . . The Holy Father seemed thoroughly aware of the facts about Dr Ullathorne.

On February 8 Wiseman writes to Manning that 'the mystery hanging over Dr Ullathorne's resignation is not cleared away', and again on 18th:³

The affair of the resignation is getting out. An old friend wrote the other day that he had just come back from York, where he had heard that Dr Ullathorne had resolutely tendered his resignation on account of something I had done to him; but he could not understand what. I sent him an explanatory letter, and to-day I have received a long one from him, taking a most melancholy view of things, and consider-

¹ It will be remembered that the Pope's throne in St Peter's stands under the Chair of St Peter.

² *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, October, 1921, pp. 175, 178.

ing the *rinunzia* a preconcerted, deliberated, and most determined act.

The concluding words of Ullathorne's own letter of September 18, 1861 (quoted p. 224), lend colour to this view. On the other hand, more than once on previous occasions of sore stress of soul, the idea of resigning had flitted before his mind. We have heard him say such a thing to Bishop Brown, when weighed down by the financial trouble he inherited at Birmingham (p. 167); and on going into Warwick Gaol in 1853, in face of a possibly prolonged imprisonment, he had prepared a formal document of resignation, should it prove necessary.¹ Probably, like most of us, he was actuated by mixed motives, and the hopes he expressed at the time of the resignation 'of some day getting back to his quiet monastic cell',² may be taken as something more than words of conventional piety. The following letter to his brother, written after his return to Birmingham, May 1862, seems to ring true :

I told you I would some day tell you of my 'accident in St Peter's', which made a stir and got into the French papers, though not into the English ones, so I may as well tell you now.

I know not if you know that I never much liked the episcopal office, and that I always looked back with regret to the monastic life. Well, when at Rome, I put a solemn petition before the Pope, showing how my laborious life had acted upon my constitution, and petitioning to be released and to be let return to conventual life. I got no sign of reply for a fortnight. Mgr Talbot came twice to me and begged me to withdraw it; I begged that no one would stand between me and the Pope.

But on the Feast of the Purification, the Pope officiating in St Peter's, after the procession, after all the dignitaries, clerical and lay, had received their candles, after the Pope had chanted the solemn blessing of the Mass and was re-seated on the throne, he had me called before him. I went up and knelt down, and he said: 'Monsignor, in the name of St Peter, I tell you from this holy chair of truth that your demission cannot be accepted. Stand to your place. Persevere until death. You have yet many things to do.'

¹ *Letters*, pp. 27, 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

What could I do but bend, kiss his ring, and retire.

Preaching two days after in the old Church of St Agatha, on her feast, there were seven Cardinals present. Cardinal Barnabò told me the Pope had first commissioned him to convey the answer, but had decided afterwards to take this most unusual and unprecedented course.

Sitting next to Cardinal Antonelli at dinner, he said: 'Well, the Pope has told me what he said to you, and you must have felt it far more tranquillizing than if he had answered you in private.'

Such was my accident in St Peter's.

Whatever the motive, the effect of Ullathorne's dramatic move was to arrest attention strongly, to stay the victorious march of Manning and Talbot, and to secure for the bishops a full and fair hearing of their case, with final victory on a number of the counts.

It was during these weeks that Ullathorne and Manning learned to know one another; they had frequent and frank talks on the matters in controversy, and Manning in the two letters cited on p. 231 found Ullathorne disposed to be reasonable and friendly. A letter two years later, to be cited further on, speaks of the walks they used to take together by the Tiber. They had their rubs. Herbert Vaughan on February 22 wrote to Wiseman: ¹

Dr Manning has been here and told me of his late interviews with Mgr *Ego Solus*, the Bishop of Birmingham, as someone has named him. He has come out in his true colours, Anglican and Gallican in the strongest way. He has tripped himself up and dropt again and again into the power of the Protonotary, who, though exceeding courteous and amiable, does not in the least object to cutting his legs off, and that operation seems to be in the course of being satisfactorily done. Dr Manning says he never before had an idea of what you must have had to go through with him in the transaction of business; the sensitiveness and crotchettiness of Mgr *Ego Solus* are beyond anything he was prepared for.

Manning gives Wiseman a very vivid description of these interviews: ²

I have been trying to remember anything which could justify Dr Ullathorne's onslaught. I can only remember

¹ Leslie, p. 491.

² *Ibid.*, p. 512.

that in the *Congressi* (which made me joke about the *pene-trale episcopatus*), after I had borne for days a perpetual repetition of 'We as bishops'—as much as to say, What can you know of our affairs?—Dr Ullathorne at last said, 'We bishops look at this from the light of our episcopal administration, you from the side of the Holy See.' I turned it off by laughing and saying, 'Protonotaries are *creati ad hoc*. The Holy See set us as bishop-takers.' Dr Clifford *crassum risit*,¹ as is his wont, and I thought all was sure to be bald play. At another time he said, 'Rome is always more and more limiting the original privileges of the bishops, and we are anxious to be limited as little as possible'—which is *purus fructus Gallicanismi*. I said, 'I leave to Dr Clifford to say whether the privileges of bishops are limitations or concessions of the Holy See.'²

Leaving Clifford to watch the case in Rome, Ullathorne came away at the end of February, but received an intimation that he would be expected to return in the summer, on the occasion of the Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, when there was to be a great concourse of bishops from all parts of the world.

During the spring and early summer of 1862 the relations between Wiseman and the bishops were growing ever more and more strained. On March 1 Wiseman wrote to Manning complaining of Ullathorne:³

I fancy the episcopate is roused to exhibition of its true colours. They have hauled down the Tiara and Keys and displayed their 'Confederate' flag, the Gallic cock that crowed against St Peter. However, I have given up troubling myself much on the matter, but calmly await the decision of the Holy See. I am puzzled with Dr Ullathorne's conduct. The Holy Father said his resignation was caused by my written *scrittura*. But surely he must have seen the justice of my being permitted to do what he had asked and obtained leave to do? Then returning to *quiet* the bishops. How have they shown themselves to be unquiet? Wherefore are

¹ Those who remember Bishop Clifford will appreciate this; he was famous for his hearty uproarious laugh.

² This may have been a good repartee, but it was bad theology, as Manning lived to see when himself a bishop. In the book privately circulated, *The Pastoral Office* (1883), he argues forcibly for the other view, that the jurisdiction of bishops is of divine institution. But the remark reflected the ideas of the extreme ultramontane school in the 'sixties.

³ Leslie, p. 511.

they unquiet? If anything can have unquieted them it surely must have been his letters to them, his secret and personal attacks, his resignation, etc. For I have been silent as a mouse and quiet as a dove. . . . Patterson has startled me with the news that Dr Brown (Salop, I understand) has sent in his resignation. If so I can hardly believe it. The Holy Father must adjure him *in nomine Petri*. Is or can the object be to compel me to retire? Certainly St John Chrysostom applied to himself the words of Jonas, and I am ready to use them too, if the Steersman of Peter's bark orders or suggests it.

For all that, he sent to Ullathorne a conciliatory letter, welcoming him on his return home. This drew forth the following reply on March 7 :

In passing through London, where I arrived last night, it was my intention to call and present my respects to your Eminence. But arriving late, and desiring to reach home early to-day, I concluded on writing a line instead. But on arriving here, I found your Eminence's kind letter, which Mr Estcourt had brought on the day before, a letter for which I beg to express my thanks. The circumstances which took me, at the entreaty of my brethren, to Rome, were painful and distressing to me; and the only consolation that I had was the hope I nourished, that on the conclusion of my delegation the Holy Father would allow me to retire from the troubles of authority, and suffer me to seek the peace of the monastery. Your Eminence is, of course, aware how in that hope I have failed, and I can only bow down to the cross. I join your Eminence completely in the confidence that the Holy See will give us just and lightsome guidance. I equally join you in the desire, and even the thirst, for peace and union of spirit. But in a long conversation which Dr Manning introduced on that subject, I could not but express my own impression, that it would take a little time to heal the wounds that have been opened in our Hierarchy, and to this sentiment he gave a reluctant acquiescence. I shall rejoice when all the questions at issue are disposed of, and when, relieved from the unusual weight of solicitude that presses upon us and paralyzes our episcopal energies, we shall be once more enabled to devote our free energies to the good of our respective churches.

Things, however, did not go smoothly. On April 17 Manning wrote to Wiseman :¹

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, p. 126.

What I add I would ask your Eminence to know and act upon without in any way implying that you know it. Dr Ullathorne has been writing to Propaganda since his return two letters to my knowledge. One I have had to answer for the Sacred Congregation. The other, Cardinal Barnabò showed me last night. But he wishes me not to write to Dr Ullathorne. It is written by Dr Ullathorne *proprio pugno*, *propria testa*, and is translated by Dr Clifford. It is signed by the two Dr Browns, Goss, Turner, Grant, Amherst, and Dr Ullathorne. It begins, 'Having heard that Mgr Manning is using all his efforts to induce the Holy See to limit the free discretion of the bishops in the matter of the Trusts, to concentrate it in the most Eminent Archbishop, the undersigned most respectfully represent,' etc. Then follow five or six heads of argument. Then that 'such a course cannot be sanctioned by you, and is the work of Mgr Manning.' Now I am hardly able to think that Dr Ullathorne is not aware that never, either by word or act, have I done this. I have, I hope, completely met the case here. But in England it may be used. If the bishops meet in Low Week it might come out. Your Eminence will know how to deal with it, but not as from me. If I am to speak my inmost thoughts I must say that it seems simply aimed to throw me. In truth the endeavour to throw your Eminence has failed, and as having had my share in the conflict my turn comes next.

(*Night*.)—I have just had a long conversation with Cardinal Barnabò. He was most satisfactory. The seven bishops' letter has done no harm, for he sees that I have given no ground for it. He gave me a full account of his conversation with Dr Clifford. Nothing could be better. I feel that an immense progress has been made here in appreciating the state of things in England and in the episcopate.

The personal relations between Metropolitan and Suffragans were to be the matter most in prominence in Rome in the summer, and so it is well to form as correct an idea of them as the fragmentary items of information will allow. On January 25 of that year Wiseman had thus written to Manning:¹

You will receive, forwarded by this day's post, another episcopal circular from Rome, mysterious in its insinuations. One thing comes transparently through it: that there will be

¹ *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 174, the lacuna being filled in from Leslie, p. 511.

a gathering of bishops to receive a report with details from the delegated two, of course without me. I think you should enter a protest against the bishops holding meetings apart, as if they formed a body corporate without the Metropolitan, to discuss or concert affairs of the Province apart. Such meetings as those held at the Belmont opening (where Dr Brown expressly said that if I had come other bishops would not have done so), or at Dr Briggs's funeral, when resolutions adverse to me were formally put and passed, have been most pernicious, injurious to peace, and scandalous. Now that we have come to an issue on our respective positions I must make good the rights of my see.

The following of March 10, again Wiseman's own, objecting to a document on the college question, signed by eight of the bishops, displays an attitude that goes far to explain their grievances :¹

The policy is now evidently to carry by majorities, not by weight of arguments. It was so at Synod [1859], it was so last summer, and so it is again. Eight against one or two : such is to be our mode of carrying on affairs.

Here stands out the substantive issue, formulated also in Ullathorne's letter of September 1, 1861 : whether the suffragan bishops had a decisive or only a consultative voice in questions of general Catholic policy affecting the whole country. This was no frivolous issue, though some of the complaints, as that Wiseman was overfond of displaying the Sacred Purple in public,² do seem so. As far back as 1855 Ullathorne, at the instance of some of the bishops, had made a remonstrance to Wiseman on the informal and haphazard manner in which the Low Week meetings were held, so as to be general conversations rather than business meetings. He pressed that no question should be brought forward of which notice had not been given to all the bishops a month beforehand ; and that they should sit, speak, and vote in due order of precedence ; and the bishops claimed that a majority vote was decisive.

The merely personal differences culminated over the Low

¹ *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

Week meeting of this year, 1862; how acutely may be seen from Wiseman's Easter letter to Manning:¹

The following is the state of our prospects of a meeting. Bishops Cornthwaite, Roskell, and Amherst have accepted the summons and come. Dr Grant, supposing we should have no meeting, has undertaken a marriage at Plymouth, though it has always been supposed that every bishop kept Low Week free, so says *Rogo te habe me excusatum*. Dr Turner is very busy preparing for his journey to Rome, so *rogo te*, etc. Dr Clifford 'in the present state of affairs avows that he looks forward to a meeting not without some degree of apprehension', but if I do not write to the contrary will come. A cross letter from Birmingham: We shall be 'in a straitened position from having received no answer on the matter on which we are so anxious', did not expect a meeting, has been so long away and on the point of returning to Rome, that a day is valuable to him, and he cannot spare it, but if I permit will run up and go back on the first day. Summary, four have accepted, two declined, one will come for one day. Hexham prevented probably by health and absent; three, Goss and two Browns, have not answered. At any rate, we shall be six at the meeting, which of those able gives a fair number. To-morrow, perhaps, I shall hear more, probably *consilium capiunt*. I sent you the above summary of all collectively that you may be prepared should a new charge of despotism or discourtesy be sent to Rome, or if you prefer that you may be beforehand with Cardinal Barnabò on this new phase. It must be decided once and for all whether our annual meeting has to depend on party caprice or not. . . . Liverpool yesterday and Shrewsbury to-day write letters almost identical, thanking me for my invitation to dinner and stating that circumstances prevent their meeting their colleagues: Dr Goss, 'As circumstances do not allow me to be in London on that occasion, I shall not have the *pleasure* of meeting my brethren or the *honour* of dining with your Eminence.' Dr Brown [Shrewsbury] thanks me for the invitation to dinner on Tuesday in Low Week, as if that was the object of the letter, and goes on, 'but, as circumstances will prevent me from attending the episcopal meeting this year, I fear that I must not promise myself the pleasure of accepting it.' You observe that neither of them alludes to my invitation to the meeting. I think it is not too much to consider these two letters as conspired and deliberate insults towards the head of the Hierarchy, and you had better put the matter as

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, p. 127.

another phase before Cardinal Barnabò. Circumstances, of course, may be created, but if such an excuse be admitted, everyone may stay away when he likes from anything. It is indecorous in the last degree and surely will not be tolerated. It is said that every bishop is going to Rome except Southwark and Hexham.

The composing of these differences and restoring peace and goodwill and confidence in the English Hierarchy, was the object looked on at Rome as of primary importance, much more than the settlement of the controversies on the colleges and the trusts. Fears were even entertained of a schism in the episcopate. Pius IX was whole-heartedly with Wiseman, who was his intimate friend; but Cardinal Barnabò, the powerful Prefect of Propaganda, held that the bishops were largely in the right—he had sought to maintain Errington. Now he was able to make his influence felt. His reading of the situation and his idea as to how the wounds of the episcopate might be healed are contained in the following note of Manning to Talbot, on the eve of the coming of all the bishops to Rome:¹

1. I find Cardinal Barnabò full of the old notion of the *scissura nell'episcopato*.

2. He believes that the *substance* of the difference between the Cardinal and the bishops is the contrariety of two systems and of two spirits.

3. But that this has been aggravated by accessories of a personal kind, to which he has listened, as the year before last in another case.

4. His summary of the case is—

(a) That the bishops feel the superiority of the Cardinal.

(b) That most of them having been his pupils [in the English college], the Cardinal perhaps may not defer to them as much as they wish.

(c) That perhaps his superiority may be made more sensible than it need be by manner.

(d) That as nobody is free from infirmities, the Cardinal may have his.

5. He thought that it would be most prudent for the Cardinal, as soon as he arrives, to invite to him all the suffragans who may be come, and to say:

(a) That he is glad to meet them here.

¹ Purcell, p. 117.

(b) That he is indifferent as to the decision.

(c) That he has reason to believe that some have been displeased; he wishes to disclaim any intention to displease, and to express his regret if anything on his part should, contrary to his intentions, have had this effect.

(d) That the present movement of union from all parts of the Catholic world is an auspicious one for effacing the memory of the past and for beginning with a renewed spirit of mutual brotherly affection and confidence.

The *more generously* this is done, and the *sooner*, the better, before any communication is made by Propaganda or by the Holy Father, as its effect will most depend upon its most perfect and evident *spontaneity*.

Cardinal Marioni and Cardinal Reisach both approve this course.

6. It will be well to see the Holy Father as soon as possible, and to say that the Cardinal is ready to wash the bishops' feet and to kiss them, and on his knees to ask forgiveness for any personal faults.

7. But that this does not touch the *substance* of the question.

8. And that the Cardinal must be supported against the effect of perpetual delations.

The authorities in Rome, and particularly Barnabò, had flitting before their minds all this time the phantom of a schism in the English episcopate, and even the possibility of rebellion.³ Had they understood the English character better they would have known that the worst possible policy was the keeping these disputes in suspense for three, four, five, even seven years, as that between Wiseman and Grant on the Southwark financial claims. We have seen Wiseman's letter asking for a fair statement of the case on both sides, and a prompt decision. When at last the decision was given it was wholly in favour of the Bishop of Southwark. Given at once, it would have cost Wiseman far less than it did coming after seven years of litigation. What was at first a difference that would have been got over easily, became an antagonism that broke an old friendship and spoilt the lives of two good men. Englishmen will fight their case determinedly until the decision of authority comes, but will accept the judgement with complete and even effusive loyalty and

³ Purcell, p. 117, and Leslie, p. 154.

obedience, once the voice of authority speaks plainly. The sequel will provide a palmary instance, showing how devoid of reality were all fears of schism or rebellion.

The May of 1862 witnessed the coming to Rome of nearly half the bishops of the Catholic world, for the Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs. Wiseman was there for the last time, and Ullathorne and all the English bishops, except two, detained by illness; Manning was in England. Ullathorne's descriptions of the great functions and of Pio Nono and the unforgettable scenes of the time are so vivid and so good as to be worthy of being revived here.

On May 22 he wrote:¹

This morning we assisted at a semi-official Consistory. After all had spoken and the Pope had concluded his Allocution, His Holiness made a most touching and affecting address out of his very heart. He spoke of the glory of the Martyrs, of the delight of having around him the bishops from all parts of the world, and of his bitter sorrow at the miseries of Italy. He asked each of us to say a Mass for the conversion of sinners. When he spoke of some who had been unfaithful, he wept, he trembled, he shook upon his throne; his voice grew broken, and he said words to himself in the intervals of his address in an undertone, as if encouraging himself. And the bishops thrilled and wept with him; old grey-headed men, many of whom then saw the Pope for the first time, covered their faces with their hands and wept. There was but one heart in that august assembly of the Church's Rulers, and that heart was the Pope's. He had put that sorrowing heart of his into the heart of each one present.

The closing function is thus described on June 10:²

. . . Three hundred bishops, including Cardinals, and 3,000 foreign priests and a number of devout laity from all quarters crowd Rome. Cardinal Altieri, the Bishop of Moulins, and Monsignor Nardi have opened their suites of apartments for reunions of the prelates twice a week. Those at the Palazzo Altieri were quite remarkable. I have seen twenty-two Cardinals and 150 bishops assembled at once. Everything is done to make Rome agreeable and to bring the prelates acquainted, and the intense heat that is so continual is the only drawback.

St Peter's within is like a fairy tent of paint and paper,

¹ *Letters*, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*

candelabra and coronas. But it is not St Peter's; it is a tent for a day, to disappear to-morrow. The numerous paintings, representing the scenes of suffering and charity of the martyred Saints, are very beautiful. Thirteen thousand candles, weighing 30,000 lbs., light it up from roof to floor. The Pope gives audiences to hundreds and even thousands at a time of priests or laity: walks through them, addresses them, and to the priests gives medals. Every morning brings us heaps of books, circulars, documents, presents from the Pope, directions for functions or consistories, offers of courtesy, etc. The bishops are all made free of the City, of the noble class, by special diploma of the Senate; and a medal is to be presented to each by the City, in addition to the magnificent one presented by the Pope. The enthusiasm is very great, and the courtesy exhibited in the streets could not well be surpassed. It is felt that an immense invigoration is preparing for the Church.

On Sunday we assembled in the Vatican by 6 a.m. The procession began at 7. The 300 mitres, they say, was a grand spectacle—the largest number since the Council of Lateran seen together in Rome. The interior of St Peter's was very dim, the lights being a feeble substitute in so vast a place for open sunlight, and in the course of the function light was introduced through the windows. It lasted five hours. The Pope both sang Mass and preached a homily, and was none the worse after it all.

Yesterday was the last Consistory. The Pope gave an Allocution, and then the bishops presented a long address, read by the oldest Cardinal Bishop, and signed by all. Then the Pope uttered a short reply from his heart, exceedingly sweet and touching. Then we rambled about the Vatican until dinner-time at 2 p.m. Each prelate received a plan of the tables with his own number and name printed so that he found his place without difficulty. The Pope sat under a canopy in the centre. The Cardinals were dispersed amongst the bishops; each bishop sat according to his order and time of nomination. The dinner was admirably served, and the 300 guests were each attended to without the slightest hitch, delay, or inconvenience. This resulted from having three distinct sets of servants: one to look to the guests, one to bring in the course, and another to carry off the one to which it succeeded. Thus the dinner exactly occupied the hour and a half which the Pope wished it not to exceed. I confess to have sinfully pocketed a white dove reposing on sugar, and a singular old gentleman in blue wings and yellow hat, and a muffler for toothache; intending to carry them to a certain St Dominic's, at Stone; in

punishment for which theft they broke and melted in my pocket. And yet this was not so wicked as the act of a French bishop, who put a peach in his pocket, quite unconscious it was an ice: how he got through his troubles I never heard. Some of the vases of sweets had little Cardinal's hats on the top of them; and it was quite pleasant to offer them to one's neighbour, and assure the fortunate prelate that his new honour came from the Pope.

After dinner we strolled through the beautiful gardens of the Vatican; and the mixture of red and purple robes, with a sprinkle of black, brown, and ash colour of the Regulars, made in the bright sunshine, amidst the dark foliage and white statuary, a magnificent spectacle. All commingled and conversed as if they had known each other from childhood; Italian, French, and Latin being the tongues most commonly heard. At last we gathered in a cool pleasaunce encircled by colonnades, round fountains and groups of flowers, where coffee was served; and then we regularly mobbed the Holy Father, conspicuous by his fine figure and white costume, like a set of grown-up children. He got on some steps, and we all crowded round him. 'Holy Father, Holy Father, you have given us everything, what will you give our flocks?' His eyes twinkled with the fun of the scene. Cardinal Donnet had got him by the arm, and all were calling together. 'Well', he said at last, 'a plenary indulgence and the Apostolic Benediction on your return.' 'But is it for all the congregations?' 'Well, then, at the first pastoral visit you make.' Then it was 'Evviva' and 'Hurrah' for the Holy Father, and we all shouted like boys let loose. Then he took an old German Cardinal by the arm, and as he walked on he said: 'You see, he is older than I am, and yet I am his support.'

And so all hearts were open, free and glad, and the Fathers of the Church became as children round the common Father. No one will ever forget that day, and the Father perhaps less than the children. It was a happy day for him, and yet many had occasional sad thoughts, and even words. The Bishop of Geneva said to me: 'May we not use the words of our Lord? "I have desired to eat this supper with you before I suffer".'

Not equally joyful was the final scene with Pius IX, when the English bishops had their audience and had a straight talking to from the Pope. We have only Wiseman's account, and it, naturally enough, is somewhat highly coloured on his own side: when the final legal decisions came they were

not so wholly in his favour as he and his friends anticipated from the Pope's words. He wrote to Manning on June 17:¹

On Saturday I had a great field-day: the Pope with all the bishops (except Clifton in bed), then the King of Naples, last a good hour with Barnabò and Capalti. They are all gone, except Clifton, in a very dejected state of mind. The Pope standing, with us round, began by saying how delighted he was to see me and them there, and said very kind things of us and the progress of religion in England. But he was sorry there had been differences amongst us—no wonder, they existed between SS Péter and Paul. As to these his wish was—and he added later this must be considered a command—that we should take the highest and largest mountain in the Alps and put it over all past questions and dissensions without any tunnel through to get at them. They were never to be referred to again or brought up under any circumstances. So end the six months' attacks, personalities, etc. Next he said it was his desire that the usual meetings should be held every year as heretofore; and that all matters of a general interest should be discussed, and either settled by a majority of voices or referred to the Holy See, to whose decisions he did not doubt all would submit. Of course he said the subjects for deliberation would be communicated to them beforehand, that each one might study them beforehand. This was all, in substance. Finding a dead pause I spoke and said I was sure I could say, in my own name and in the other bishops', that it required only a wish of His Holiness to be a command. We should therefore continue our annual meetings as heretofore, and I hoped we should continue to deliberate and decide as in the past, *con pace, concordia, e libertà*. Another pause—no one spoke, so I resumed: 'But, Holy Father, we are to have communication made of the last decision of Propaganda on trusts?' (*The great point for which the bishops believed they were to be assembled before the Pope and about which they have been so eager.*) 'Già', said the Pope with great indifference, 'there will be a communication!' 'It is your Holiness's intention to do so now, or will Propaganda do it?' 'Cardinal Barnabò can do it.' 'But the bishops are leaving to-morrow and would be glad to know it.' 'Why, I shall see no one till to-morrow evening when Capalti will come, when I will speak to him.' 'Then the communication will be made in writing?' 'Yes, in writing.' Priests and others were then called in and so the affair ended. Not one spoke a word from beginning to

¹ *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 182.

end—not one took leave or asked for a blessing on his journey or his flock, but went out blank and speechless. In the anteroom, where many bishops had come, I hunted each one out, asked him if he was going next day, and shook hands, wishing a pleasant journey. Not a hand was kindly held out. I had almost to lift some up dead from the side. They went into St Peter's, where a person who saw them wondered what had come over them. Talbot called on them at dinner and found them very low and prostrate. And so they have gone without an answer to their six months' pleadings, with Mont Blanc over their personal complaints and charges; and now an order instead of a friendly understanding to meet annually and whenever requisite, and an end to episcopal committee government. Such is the grand total of this unhappy attempt to make void the Hierarchy and return to Vicarial regimen. The Pope said to Talbot, 'I hope the Cardinal is now quite satisfied.'

No one will grudge Wiseman his jubilation; but it was characteristic of his emotional and optimistic nature to overlook the fact that, in spite of the rebuke from the Pope, the bishops had obtained the substantive point they were contending for: the annual Low Week meeting was, indeed, as Wiseman wished, made of obligation for a discussion of all matters of general interest; but everything was to be settled by a majority of votes or else referred to the Holy See, and the agenda must be circulated beforehand. Thus the bishops secured recognition of their right to decisive, and not merely consultative votes at the meeting. Two days later, June 19, Wiseman describes his private audience:¹

After thanking the Holy Father for his splendid present in the Exhibition, I thanked him for the words addressed by him to us the other day. I will try to give all that he said as nearly as possible: 'I am sorry I forgot one thing. I mentioned three—burying of past differences, triennial synods, and annual meetings (he never once alluded, as I was expecting, to the Church trusts). I ought, perhaps, to have asked them if they had nothing to say or remark. What would you have? When you see people so reserved, so buttoned up, as Trasteverini say (taking hold of his own buttons as if tightening up his chest), one must invite them to speak.' Then he added: 'However, better not, for in these times who knows

¹ *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 184.



Thomas Grant

THOMAS GRANT
Bishop of Southwark

but it might have led to discussion which I did not wish.' He went on: 'I hope they'll obey me. Yes, Ullathorne is the one who acts as standard-bearer for the others—and naturally, for he has more to hope for; but he is docile, and on another occasion has obeyed me at once' (about the resignation?). 'Grant seems to have little head, but I believe him to be good, and he'll obey.' I replied: 'Yes, also he is very scrupulous, and this perhaps adds to his narrow-mindedness.' 'The others I don't know.' 'Brown?' 'Ah, he's only a chatterer (*chiacchierone*). He seems to me like a Neapolitan. He can't have much of a head', or something similar. I did not go on, for it was plain that the rest of the episcopate in Rome was a blank in his mind, and that there was no individuality in them to his eyes. So I trust is ended the great campaign of 1861-2. God grant it may never have to be renewed.¹

The next day Talbot wrote to Manning that Wiseman was starting home,

after having met with complete success in everything he has done here. I am afraid the bishops have not gone away in good humour, as they have been completely foiled in all their attempts to ruin him here; especially one, I am sorry to say, is very sore at not having succeeded.² And again a month later:³ There is no doubt that we enabled Cardinal Wiseman to gain a great triumph in Rome. I shall never forget the bishops' look after their last audience, in which the Pope gave them a severe lesson. Dr Ullathorne was very bitter after it, and so was Grant. They both received a solemn rebuke to meditate upon. Again a fortnight later:⁴ I see in the papers that Dr Ullathorne has been making a speech at Stafford in which he made a eulogy of the Cardinal very different to what he said of him when he was in Rome. Poor man, he is a very difficult person to understand.'

The occasion was the opening of a church at Stafford, July 16; the bishop at the lunch, responding to the toast, 'The Hierarchy',

¹ Most of the conversation is given in Italian. It has to be said that Pius's estimation of Bishop Brown of Newport was grievously mistaken. Those who can remember him, at any rate as an old man, will recognize a certain fussiness of manner and garrulousness that may have given occasion to the Pope's impression; but he was in reality a fine man, of strong character, great zeal, and conspicuous ability (see below, p. 275).

² Purcell, p. 147.

³ Ibid., 148.

⁴ Ibid., p. 150.

passed a high eulogium upon Cardinal Wiseman, remarking that he had brought a higher, a deeper, and a more Catholic literature amongst them; had raised the Catholic worship in England to its normal splendour; had infused among them a higher artistic taste; and had taught them to throw off that degree of apprehension, of unnecessary caution, and almost of fear, which still lingered around them, a reminiscence of former days.

Manning on his side lost no time, in the interests of pacification, in opening out relations with Ullathorne, recognized on all hands as the outstanding personality among the bishops. He had written 'a commonplace letter' to him on arrival, and before the middle of August went to visit him. He wrote to Talbot:¹

I have seen Dr Ullathorne, and spent two days with him. He was very friendly, and spoke kindly and guardedly of the Cardinal. He gave me his version of the last two days in Rome, through which I could perceive a certain sense of fiasco. I have seen Dr Grant, who is very friendly.

Talbot replied:² I was prepared for Dr Ullathorne's having a version of the last audience he had of the Pope. Nevertheless, Cardinal Wiseman's version of it has been confirmed and approved by His Holiness.

This was the case: on September 1 Wiseman wrote to Manning:³

Just as I was starting came thirteen copies of the *grandis epistola*, two large thick well-filled sheets for each bishop. One was the decree [on the trusts], the other the substance of the Pope's conversation in Latin, but so correctly following what I had written that no doubt they had found my minute.

It is pleasing to know that the Holy Father's words effected the desired pacification, and that the heat generated in the controversy between Metropolitan and Suffragans speedily died down, and happy relations were restored. Wiseman was able to write of the next Low Week meeting, 1863: 'The business of the meeting went through quickly and smoothly. All is gone off really well and quickly.'

¹ Purcell, 148, 150.

² Ibid., p. 142.

³ *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 184.

The next day took place the opening of the Italian church, Hatton Garden :¹

All the bishops were in admiration at the church, but more at the function, which was really grand, everything used being noble and rich. The ceremonies were excellently performed, the whole space filled with persons of all classes from Lady Londonderry to plenty of poor, many priests and religious in habit, and twelve bishops. After the function I took the bishops to Leyton [his country residence], where they all seemed to enjoy themselves immensely and dined very cheerfully.

A very human and very English burying of the quarrels. Again of the meeting in 1864 : ' Nothing could have been more pacific and friendly than our meeting.'²

As for Ullathorne, the bitterness after the audience, spoken of by Talbot—if indeed it had any existence outside that curious person's imaginings—was skin-deep and soon wore off. In the Stafford speech, immediately on his return home, he spoke with undiminished affection of Pio Nono, extolling ' that wonderful power he has of throwing his whole heart into the hearts of those that approach him ' ; and in the Pastoral of the following September he uttered his real feelings towards him in the words already cited at the close of chapter VII (p. 186).

The long looked for decision on the trusts came on September 1. Though it had been adopted by Propaganda and confirmed by the Pope at the middle of April, its tenor had not been made known to the bishops or to Wiseman at the audience in the middle of June, though all were impatient to hear it. But Pius put them off with, ' Barnabò will communicate it ' ; and ten weeks elapsed before he did so. It is the way of Rome to let litigants get home and have time to cool before a decision is promulgated. When it came it must have been little to the liking of Wiseman and Manning, for it was altogether in accord with the view maintained by the bishops. The case at issue had been thus formulated by Manning : ' The question is reduced to one point : whether, when no danger to the property exists, Propaganda will direct a spontaneous conformity with the

¹ *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 187.

² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Charity Commission' (January 10, 1862).¹ Propaganda made no pronouncement on any such theoretical issue, nor on the question of *altum dominium*. It gave a series of sensible practical instructions, the upshot of which was that whenever a bishop found it necessary or desirable for the safeguarding of any ecclesiastical property, or for the securing the administration, he should enrol such trusts in conformity with the law, and if necessary appeal to the Charity Commissioners.²

The decision on the colleges did not come for yet another year. The point at issue has been explained in the foregoing chapter. We have seen, too, at the beginning of this chapter, that in the winter of 1859-60 it looked as if Wiseman was safe to carry his view at Rome; and in this matter, it being an assertion of the untrammelled jurisdiction of the diocesan bishops over their respective colleges, Ullathorne's interests were the same as Wiseman's. The issue had arisen out of the Synod of 1859, and the confirmation of the Synodal Acts by the Holy See was still withheld, until a decision should be arrived at on the matter of the colleges.

On August 9, 1862, Talbot wrote to Manning: 'I suppose you will be coming to Rome next winter about the college question, which I must say is one of the greatest importance, on which the future of the Church in England much depends.'³ Manning replied in the like strain: 'Certainly the college question is the greatest next after the Hierarchy.'⁴ The importance of the question is here, surely, hugely exaggerated, and is an instance of what I have called Manning's intellectual fanaticism over the matter that at the time being was actually occupying his attention and his efforts. At Easter, 1863, Dr Clifford went back to Rome to represent the majority of the bishops, and secure the confirmation of the scheme of government of the colleges passed at the Synod. Manning was already there, and after some conferences they came to terms on a form of compromise. But Propaganda unexpectedly rejected their compromise, and confirmed almost without modification the

¹ Purcell, p. 127.

² The original Instruction is in the Westminster Archives.

Purcell, p. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Acts of the Synod. The confirmation was promulgated on September 14. Manning, in spite of, or forgetful of, what he had said a year before, wrote to comfort Wiseman, urging that the thing did not really matter. But the blow wrought on Wiseman the most extraordinary effect, showing how little fit he then was for such contests: he was thrown into a state verging on brain-fever, so that the doctors were gravely alarmed for his life.¹

Leslie's tenth chapter is apt to convey the impression that, except for this case of the colleges, Manning sailed along to victory, winning case after case for Wiseman in Rome. It was not so; and as this is the first time the general story has been told as a whole, or from a point of view other than that of Wiseman and Manning, it will not be amiss to draw up a simple schedule of the cases Manning fought for Wiseman at Rome from 1858 to 1863.

1. The removal of Errington from the coadjutorship in 1860 was beyond compare the most important of them. But here, though no doubt he had Manning's sympathy and help,² Wiseman acted in person and fought his own battle.

2. Of the lesser cases, the first in point of time was the Bishop of Southwark's appeal in the matter of the division between Westminster and Southwark of the property and funds of the London District; the appeal was lodged in 1853 and decided at Rome in 1860 in favour of Southwark. Manning and Talbot did their best for Wiseman, while recognizing all through that his case was weak.³

3. The next in order was the appeal of the Westminster Chapter in 1858, asking for a definition of the legal position in certain points of controversy between them and the Archbishop. The answer never came until 1863. It was in favour of the Archbishop, the Chapter having gone beyond its competence; at the same time it is to serve as the norm for the relations of all the new English Chapters to the Bishops.⁴

¹ For all this episode, see letters in Purcell, pp. 129-32.

² See Manning to Talbot, September 14, 1860, in Purcell, p. 101.

³ Ward, *Wiseman*, II, 374; Purcell, p. 263.

⁴ Purcell, p. 114. The document is a model of Roman procedure, perfectly clear in the judgement, but studiously couched in terms that could give no umbrage to the losers of the suit.

4. The introduction of the Oblates into St Edmund's College, for the purpose of reforming the spirit and manner of training of the ecclesiastical students, had been the originating cause of the quarrel of Wiseman with his Chapter, and it was the principal issue on which Errington gave battle. Although the Chapter's assertion of legal rights in the matter was disallowed, Wiseman found it necessary to withdraw the Oblates in the summer of 1861. I am uncertain if he did it as an act of his own, made necessary by the persistent and growing opposition of the clergy; or if he received an advice from Rome on the subject, equivalent to an instruction. The first is what is suggested by Manning's letter, given by Ward (*Wiseman*, II, 434); but the latter seems necessarily implied in Purcell's note (*Manning*, 106), that Wiseman received a friendly warning from Propaganda not to appeal against its action in the matter of withdrawing the Oblates. Wiseman and Manning both felt the withdrawal to be a bad set-back to their plans and hopes; but the Chapter of Westminster, the Bishop of Southwark, and the great bulk of the clergy of both dioceses hailed it with great contentment.¹ And, what is interesting, Canon Edwin Burton, for many years Vice-president and President of Old Hall, bears witness to the fact that 'later generations at the College have always felt gratitude to the Chapter of Westminster for making a stand against the proposed innovation', the reason being that 'the traditions of St Edmund's are much older than St Edmund's itself, being its inheritance from the old English College at Douay, and the introduction of a new spirit and fresh ideals would have effectually cut the thread of the older continuity.'²

5. The personal differences between the bishops and Wiseman were set at rest by the Pope's injunction that they should be buried in everlasting silence; but in regard to the juridical issue the bishops won what they were contending for. The formal Letter of Propaganda enforcing the Pope's speech to them at the parting Audience of June 1862 lays down that the custom is to be maintained of the bishops

¹ Purcell, pp. 106, 125; also J. G. Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, ch. IV.

² Article in Washington University *Catholic Historical Review*, 1923; reprinted in *The Edmundian*, 1925.

meeting in order to deal with matters of general Catholic interest; that the subjects to be discussed are to be announced beforehand, so that each bishop may have ample time to study the questions; that there is to be a free discussion; that the issue is to be decided by the majority of votes; and should opinions be so divided that there is no majority, that the matter is to be referred to the judgement of the Holy See.¹

6. The instruction on trusts leaves it to the discretion of the bishops to take what measures each may deem advisable in regard to the Charitable Trusts Act for the protection of the properties and trusts in his keeping. This provision has so worked out that church property has been freely enrolled under trust deeds, and trusts of various kinds have been formed, differing in different dioceses, as has seemed good to the bishop and his advisers. Such independent freedom for each diocese is the very principle the bishops stood for from the beginning of the controversy.

7. Rome's decision on the government of the ecclesiastical colleges was a sheer defeat for Wiseman, Manning and Talbot, and in this matter Ullathorne to some extent stood with them; but a clear victory for the other bishops.

8. There was a subsidiary issue involved in this same decision, affecting Ushaw College in particular. In 1850 Wiseman had been made Apostolic Visitor of the college. The reason does not appear: he himself said vaguely, 'owing to the necessity of fresh arrangements springing from our altered ecclesiastical organization.' But the powers were extensive; they included the appointment of professors, presentation for orders, and administration of temporals.² This position and power he clung to and sought to perpetuate. The Bishop of Liverpool went to Rome in 1860, and the President of Ushaw in 1861, to try to secure the freedom of the college and the northern bishops from such an abnormal position, which Manning, however, strove to maintain for Wiseman. As a consequence of the settlement of the college question in 1863, Ushaw was released from Wiseman's juris-

¹ Westminster Archives.

² Letters of Wiseman, February, 1851, and May, 1852, preserved at Ushaw.

diction as Visitor, and placed under the control of the five northern bishops. Wiseman looked on this as a disaster for the college.¹

The foregoing summary shows that, besides the Errington case, only one other was decided by Rome in Wiseman's favour, viz., the contest with the Chapter on certain legal rights: on the six controversies with the bishops, judgement was in all cases given against him, and Manning and Talbot failed. This must absolve the bishops from the condemnation of factiousness and vexatiousness in their opposition, as seems suggested by the naturally *ex parte* statements of Wiseman, Manning, and Talbot—all that has hitherto been in print on the controversy.

One word more, before passing away from the story of these contests. Mr. Leslie sums it all up thus: 'It was Manning's championship of the Metropolitan see against the English bishops, like Southwark and Birmingham, which made him so admirable a successor to the fruits of his own labours, and afforded to Vaughan and the successors of Vaughan so distinct a primacy to inherit' (p. 492). This is not correct. The position Manning inherited from Wiseman and handed on to Vaughan was nothing less, and nothing more, than the legal position of Metropolitan in a Hierarchy, as defined by the canon law ('Codex', § 274).²

¹ See letters, *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, pp. 120, 123; and Purcell, pp. 130, 131. That Wiseman sought to perpetuate the position is shown by a letter of his to Barnabò, May, 1861, at Ushaw.

² In various places in Mr Leslie's pages emerges this misconception of the position and functions of the Archbishop: for instance, in the *Dublin Review* of April, 1920: 'A Metropolitan without his bishops is like a political leader without his tail' (p. 206).

CHAPTER X

THE WESTMINSTER SUCCESSION

(1861—1865)

THROUGHOUT the troubles and controversies related in the preceding chapter the engrossing question of the Westminster succession was ever looming in the background. We have seen that in July 1860 Pius IX removed Archbishop Errington from his position of coadjutor to Cardinal Wiseman and deprived him of the right of succession to the see of Westminster. It was not done by canonical process or by sentence passed by any court—no canonical charge had been made in the case—but it was the personal act of the Pope, for the good of religion, on account of incompatibility of view, method, and temperament between Cardinal and Coadjutor. The bishops probably did not desire Errington in himself for their Metropolitan,¹ nor the canons and clergy of Westminster for their Bishop.² Still there existed the widespread sense that he had been hardly treated, and that his deposition had been brought about by Wiseman not on canonical grounds but for personal reasons. Moreover, he was looked on as the protagonist of the opposition to Wiseman's ideas of reforming English Catholicism by means of the converts. And so there was with Errington very general sympathy. This was by no means, as Talbot, and Manning too, would have it,³ a manifestation of a radically anti-papal Gallican spirit; it was rather the expression of an English sense of fair play in behalf of one believed to have been unjustly used.

Already in June 1859, before the Synod, when the news first transpired that Wiseman was working at Rome to get Errington removed from the coadjutorship, Bishop Grant

¹ Purcell, p. 100.

² Ward, *Wiseman*, II, 370.

³ Purcell, pp. 108, 174, 175.

had written to Cardinal Barnabò in the name of some of the bishops, to beg that he should not be removed.¹ And after his removal Grant and others began to work for his restoration, not to Westminster, but to the English Hierarchy in another see: he had given up his see of Plymouth in order to become coadjutor. Though no direct evidence is known to me, there can be little doubt that Ullathorne shared in the general feeling for Errington;² and on coming to Rome with Clifford in November 1861 he approached Cardinal Barnabò in the name of some of the bishops, on the subject of Errington's restoration to the English episcopate in some other see than Westminster. Barnabò undertook to lay the matter before the Pope. At his next audience he opened the subject. 'The Holy Father answered very strongly, "I do not want him at Westminster; he is not suitable for that post."' Cardinal Barnabò then said, "But for some other see?" The Holy Father answered, "That alters the question"; and seemed disposed to entertain the idea.' In communicating this news to Wiseman, Manning commented forcibly and sensibly, December 13, 1861:³

It appears to me that at some future day Dr Errington's return to the episcopate would be a question very different from what it is now. At this moment it would appear to be a reversal of the Holy Father's judgement in everything but form. It would seem to be the reaction of the bishops against your last visit here [that of 1859-60, which had brought about Errington's deprivation], and against yourself.

As to Dr Errington, I wish to see him treated with all respect due to a man who is personally good and upright; and if hereafter, where no danger would result, he were replaced in some position, I should see it with satisfaction; but at this time when the whole conflict is still under arms, and everything gained still precarious and at stake, and your work not consolidated, and in many ways already affected by reaction, and the old party not only biding their time, but exulting in the hope of change, and the bishops sending a *procura* to Rome avowedly against your Eminence, I should look on any replacing of Dr Errington not as the restoration of a person but as the reversal of a whole line of action, and the consolidation of its opposite.

¹ Purcell, p. 100.

² There is a letter to Brown that shows this pretty clearly.

³ Purcell, p. 107.

A day or two later he had a talk with Ullathorne, who was disposed to explain away and disavow what he had done—somewhat weakly, it certainly looks.¹ At any rate nothing more was heard of the project. But in April 1863 the offer was again made to Errington of the archbishopric in Trinidad, and again refused by him for reasons set forth in a letter to Barnabò.² There can be no doubt that the motive of the offer was, in part, to get him fixed in a see out of England and out of reach of Westminster.

For the fact did not escape Manning's clear-sighted penetration that on the death of Wiseman a great effort would be made to restore Errington at Westminster. The feeling that he had been harshly and unjustly treated was general among the clergy of Westminster and of the rest of England, and among the laity, and also among the bishops; and distrust and dislike of Manning, looked on as Wiseman's evil genius, was no less general. Early in 1862 it became known at Rome that Errington expected to be brought back by the Chapter;³ and in the course of 1863 his attitude, shared by various bishops, became more clear: the decree of removal, being motived, not by any canonical fault, but by 'incompatibility of temper' with Wiseman, was only suspensory, so that on Wiseman's death, the incompatibility ceasing, his right of succession would revive;⁴ or at any rate he would be fully eligible. When Barnabò first heard that Errington was expecting to succeed Wiseman, he could hardly credit it; but added that 'a man who could take down the Pope's words in a private conversation in his presence, was capable of doing many strange things.' A month later, February 1862, Herbert Vaughan wrote to Wiseman that Barnabò 'had been suggesting to Talbot the advisability of making Dr Manning your coadjutor; but Talbot replied that the bishops would feel aggrieved at such an appointment; Ullathorne, however, had assured him they would willingly see Dr Manning among the bishops.' Of these proposals Manning was kept in ignorance, and in fact nothing more was heard of them.⁵ But the matter was not dropped at Rome, and at

¹ Purcell, p. 109.

² Ward, *Wiseman*, II, Appendix E.

³ Leslie, p. xvii.

⁴ Purcell, pp. 112, 142, 176.

⁵ Leslie, p. xviii.

the end of the year Talbot was commissioned to communicate to Wiseman the Pope's wish that he should have Ullathorne for coadjutor. Wiseman seems to have said at first that if it were the definite wish of the Holy Father he would acquiesce; for on January 2, 1863, Talbot wrote to him again:¹

Manning has shown me a letter from your Eminence from which it appears that you have misunderstood a letter which I wrote to you by order of the Holy Father. I mentioned that it was his wish that you should consent to the nomination of Dr Ullathorne as your coadjutor. This the Pope desired me to say to your Eminence in order to prevent a scandal, which would certainly take place in England in case, *quod avertat Deus*, you were suddenly taken from us to a better world. The Pope desired me to express this wish, as he said to Herbert Vaughan, that before his own death he was determined to secure the succession of Westminster. From your letter to Mgr Manning it appears that you will immediately assent to this plan as soon as you are certain that it is the expressed wish of the Holy Father. I can declare to you that such is the case, and Mgr Manning is a witness.

Wiseman, however, hung back, and in May Talbot wrote again at Barnabò's instigation, who was wishing Wiseman to ask for a coadjutor; and this time Talbot suggested Manning.² We have it on the authority of one of Wiseman's intimates that from 1859 his desire was that Manning should be his successor;³ but he shrank from raising the storm that the appointment would cause, if brought about by himself. Great pressure was now brought to bear by the authorities at Rome, Barnabò and Pius himself, to induce him to ask for a coadjutor, whom he would.⁴ In June Manning wrote to Talbot: ⁵ 'The Cardinal will write to you. He would be relieved if the Holy See would decide for him. He is timid and wishes to end his days without any more troubles. But this is the way to greater troubles when he is gone.' The alarming state of the Cardinal's health that same autumn, 1863, already referred to as occasioned by Rome's adverse decision on the college controversy, made

¹ Leslie, p. 140.

² Ibid., p. 142.

³ Wiseman, II, 283.

⁴ Purcell, pp. 173-5.

⁵ Ibid., p. 175.

prompt action imperative, especially as it was becoming more and more feared that Errington was bent on asserting his claim to Westminster, and that he had a formidable backing. On October 10 Talbot wrote:¹

I feel certain that Errington will try to fight his right to the succession; and if he is proposed by the Chapter, backed by the bishops, with the support of Dr Cullen and Co. [the Irish Bishops], I know Rome well enough to fear that the decree of removal might be reversed. If such be the case, *povero voi* and the Oblates of St Charles.

As a matter of fact, these fears that Errington was bent on asserting a right to the succession were groundless: on the question being put to him point blank, 'he wrote back that he had never entertained the notion that, after what had passed, he could claim the succession.'² But of course he did consider himself eligible.

In view of the crisis Manning's name was dropped, and all forces were united in the endeavour to bring in Ullathorne as the coadjutor. At the beginning of November Talbot wrote to Wiseman:³

It is impossible for many reasons that they should think of naming Manning your coadjutor, with future succession. The only bishop at all equal to such a position is Dr Ullathorne. He has many faults, but with them all he is a good bishop and will not undo your work. The plan would be to name him coadjutor with orders to remain as Bishop of Birmingham as long as you live. The second part of the plan, *not matured yet*, would be to make Mgr Manning a bishop *in partibus* to help you in London. It has also been suggested that he should succeed to Birmingham. What you must do is simply to write to the Pope to ask for a coadjutor, as the Holy Father, with great delicacy, says that asking one must come from your Eminence, and he wished you to do so.

Manning was already on the way to Rome, and now set himself determinedly to bring about Ullathorne's appointment as coadjutor with right of succession at Westminster, and he put forth all his powers of influence with Wiseman

¹ Purcell, p. 177.

² Ullathorne to Brown, February 26, 1864.

³ Leslie, p. 143.

to induce him to acquiesce. His first letter, December 4, was tactfully tentative.¹ He told Wiseman of his interview with Barnabò, and how the latter had spoken of the situation and its dangers; without mentioning Ullathorne's name, which he knew to be most distasteful to Wiseman, he only said that Barnabò 'spoke of the steps which he thought ought to be taken—naming one of the bishops. It seems to me that if the bishop referred to were invested with the right of succession, and *at once*, many great benefits would follow. It would put an end to doubts, and would extinguish many suspicions. It would also tranquillize the bishops. This I said to Cardinal Barnabò, adding that the bishop named is acknowledged by all, including his colleagues, to be the best and ablest; and that I hoped your Eminence could consent to its being done.'

Three days later he wrote to Ullathorne himself to acquaint him with the purport of his conversations with Barnabò on the coadjutorship:²

I replied that the necessity was very urgent for it, for the sake of the Holy See, for the sake of the episcopate, and to prevent uncertainty, anxiety, etc., to avoid suspicions and sedition among the clergy. That the person most fitting to meet the case would be Mgr Ullathorne, being the second in point of seniority, the most capable, the recognized interpreter of Wiseman. Cardinal Barnabò has encouraged me to repeat these words of mine to your Lordship.

The next day he wrote again to Wiseman, concluding thus:³

I hope I have not gone against your wish in saying everything both to Cardinal Barnabò and to the Holy Father in support of the appointment of Dr U. I could do so with all my heart, for I have a very high sense of his goodness both as a man and a bishop; and I think him beyond all compare the fittest man to come after you.

Wiseman would not hear of it. He looked on Ullathorne rightly—not as the most violent of his contradictors among the bishops (this was Dr Goss of Liverpool), but—as the

¹ Purcell, p. 181.

² Leslie, p. 144.

³ Purcell, p. 182.

leader among them, who by his personality and power and persistence gave its consistency to the opposition. His ideas on Ullathorne's action were expressed in the letter of March 1, 1862 (cited p. 237); and so he now wrote, December 26:¹

The sore Birmingham business weighs heavily upon me by a graver sense of responsibility than I have ever felt, by the struggle between conscience and compliance. With Dr Ullathorne Barnabò has corresponded directly, and priests of this diocese know question and answer, and from them I have learnt them. Am I so little party to the matter that I should be the last to hear of it?

Manning, with the persistence that characterized him in working any object on which his mind was made up as being the right thing, urged Wiseman to come out to Rome himself and settle the matter of the coadjutor in person, and again pressed Ullathorne's claims in a letter commenced December 31 and continued January 2, 1864:²

The more I consider the subject, the more I am fully convinced of the two points. The one, that to close this question promptly is of the highest importance; there has been much party spirit about it, and there will be much more until it is finally done, and that not only in the diocese but in a higher region. The other, that the person whose nomination would extinguish the possibility of these feelings is Dr Ullathorne.

I know all you feel about him, and about the question, but there seem to me many reasons why that nomination would ensure union among the bishops and peace for yourself.

1. He is the man whom they have already chosen as their best, and their procurator.

2. He really is so beyond comparison.

3. It would be a visibly disinterested act on your part; and even more than this.

4. If any other man were archbishop, Dr U. would always be a difficulty in the episcopate. The others would work with him. I doubt his acting with any other archbishop. This I say not in censure; but such is his character *etiam ex parte meliore*.

5. He would not undo anything you have done. Things might not move onward fast; but they would not go back.

¹ Leslie, p. 144.

² Purcell, pp. 184, 185.

6. It is an appointment which would give to the Chapter neither victory nor defeat, but a master.

7. It would render his relations towards you neutral at least; I think friendly for the future.

8. It would be to the bishops who were impatient about Dr Errington a sort of concession, a consideration which would content many feelings.

9. As a *tutorista* it is a safer nomination than any other you might think personally more fit.

Finally, it would be a *pietra* on many old questions.

I can anticipate much you would say to all this.

But the conclusion of these two points seems to my mind evident as the safer course.

Pray excuse all this, which I cannot help writing. Of one thing I am still more convinced, and that is, that your Eminence's surest course is to come here, and to hear and weigh the mind and will of the Holy Father, so as to know and to distinguish it from all others, and to act in the fullest light of his counsel.

If there was ever an occasion in your archiepiscopate which is more grave than another, and more full of the future, it is the choice of your successor, a choice seldom granted to men, and in this crisis of your work and mission most important. It will be better for you to go to Spain when the cold is over, and Rome always does you good.

The Cardinal refused to go to Rome to discuss the question, pleading very justly his utterly broken health, knowing full well that he would surely be over-persuaded by Manning and Barnabò and the Pope into accepting Ullathorne, who now was altogether repugnant to him as coadjutor. So he wrote a final *scrittura* setting forth the grounds of his strong objection to Ullathorne's appointment, and praying to be allowed to end his days in peace, without coadjutor. This appeal had the desired effect, and at the middle of February 1864 Manning conveyed to him the welcome tidings that the matter of a coadjutor was allowed to lapse. When Manning came home he had a bad half-hour with Wiseman for the manner in which he had tried to impose Ullathorne on him. The poor Cardinal said, 'I felt as if my last friend had left me.'¹

Just a year later, February 15, 1865, Cardinal Wiseman died. At once the War of the Westminster Succession blazed

¹ For this episode see Purcell, pp. 182-8.

out afresh as Manning had foreseen. The procedure was that the Chapter of Westminster should choose and present a *terna* of three names, and that the bishops of the Province should consider these names and send them to Rome with any comments they thought proper. The final appointment lay with the Holy See, and was quite free, though ordinarily the favourite of the Chapter, if recommended by the bishops, was accepted. There was much speculation as to the names likely to be chosen by the Chapter, and particularly whether, in face of a warning from Propaganda, the canons would venture to include Errington's.¹ Manning at first did not think they would. His own selection of candidates did not now include Ullathorne, who had recently shown himself in favour of Catholics going to Oxford and Cambridge²—at that time the unforgivable sin in Manning's eyes; but he added, 'Still, if the Holy See appoints him I shall feel that all is right.'³ A week later he came round to him again. At the beginning, two days after receiving the news of Wiseman's death, Talbot had written: 'I think the Holy Father and Barnabò have set their minds on Dr Ullathorne, who certainly is the only bishop in England at all up to the position.'⁴ Now, March 6, Manning wrote to him, deploring the increasing influence of the Jesuits at Farm Street as impoverishing and impeding the work of the diocese:⁵

Now, I implore you to use your influence, outspoken and unceasing, to prevent this calamity. One man who could check it and also quiet the bishops, would be Dr Ullathorne. He knows well all I have told you. A second would be Dr Cornthwaite [of Beverley], who would be more personally liked. Urge the one or the other with all your power.

When the news reached Rome that the Chapter had nominated Errington, along with Clifford and Grant, and that the bishops had sent on these names without comment; and, further, that the two others had written withdrawing their candidature, so that in effect Errington's was the one name presented to the Holy See, Pius IX was deeply moved and all Rome with him. He beat his breast and declared it

¹ Purcell, p. 207.

² Ibid., p. 206.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 194.

⁵ Leslie, p. 151.

a public insult, and 'a grave rebuke was given to the bishops under the Pope's own hand.'¹ The Pope declared he would take the thing into his own hands and make the selection himself, ordering many Masses and prayers to be offered for guidance aright. At the first a remark of his led to the belief that he would accept Clifford.² Then Ullathorne's claims began to assert themselves. But at the Pope's side was a voice steadily but discreetly whispering the name of Manning, urging his claims, and stressing the objections to every other candidate.³ Feeling at first, however, that his advocacy for Manning was bootless, so great was the opposition to him in Rome (Barnabò was strongly opposed⁴), as well as in England, Talbot wrote a curious letter to a mutual friend, to break it to Manning that there was no chance of his being the archbishop. He mistook his man. The transparent sincerity of Manning's reply shows that even in the eleventh hour no notion of any practical likelihood of his becoming the archbishop had found place in his mind.⁵ Talbot, however, soon felt his advocacy was making way, and on March 28 he was able to write: 'I think that the only choice is between yourself and Ullathorne.'⁶ And now befell the strangest thing of all. Pius, in his perplexity, suggested to Talbot that perhaps *he* would be the best appointment! Talbot at once bubbled over with the news to Manning, who responded enthusiastically, April 11:⁷

Your letter of 3rd and 4th came yesterday. I thank God for what it tells me. And I trust that you will be sent to us.

¹ So Ullathorne, Leslie, p. 153. The letter is at Oscott: 'not without great astonishment', are the Pope's words.

² Purcell, p. 216.

³ This is not surmise or exercise of historical imagination. Talbot says it himself quite frankly, Purcell, p. 220.

⁴ Purcell, p. 257.

⁵ Purcell, p. 209. This letter should be read by all who wish to judge Manning justly in this affair: 'I thank you sincerely for your kind thought about me, and your fear of giving me pain. It gave me none. If I were to say that the subject of it has not been before my mind, I should go beyond the truth, for people have, out of kind but inconsiderate talk, introduced the subject. But if I say that I have never for a moment believed the thing to be probable, reasonable, or imaginable, I should speak the strict truth. I have never aimed at it or desired it. God knows I have never so much as breathed a wish to Him about it.'

⁶ Purcell, p. 211.

⁷ Ibid., p. 214.

It will be my happiness to work with you and for you; for I believe that the love of souls and the love of Rome are your two motives, and I know well your uprightness and true kindness. I shall say a Mass of thanksgiving as soon as I hear it.

While this may be to the credit of his qualities of heart, surely the notion that Talbot would be a good, or from any point of view tolerable, Archbishop of Westminster must be set down as the biggest blot on Manning's practical reason, and the palmary proof of the aberrations of judgement to which his manner of holding principles used to drive him. And yet he really did believe this preposterous thing. In the first letters on his appointment, both to Ullathorne and to Talbot, he declares with evident sincerity that he had taken for granted one or other of them was going to be the archbishop.¹

As April wore on efforts were redoubled. The great body of Catholic opinion in England undoubtedly supported Errington: a memorial in his favour went to Rome from the most prominent among the Catholic laity; the clergy not only of Westminster but throughout the country took his part; so did the bishops; and Dr Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, and other Irish bishops intervened in his behalf at Rome. The British Government made a semi-official communication that Clifford's would be the most acceptable appointment. On the other hand, Talbot's campaign for Manning was reinforced by a powerful ally in Fr Coffin, one of the Oxford converts of 1845, Provincial of the English Redemptorists, afterwards Bishop of Southwark. Being in Rome for a General Chapter of the Order, he took the opportunity of speaking strongly in Manning's favour to Reisach, an influential Cardinal of Propaganda, who reported all he said to the Pope.²

When the Cardinals of Propaganda met for the official selection of the name to be submitted to the Pope, Reisach proposed Manning, but the others were all against it. Finally, Ullathorne was unanimously chosen by Propaganda as the one to be recommended to the Pope for the Archbishopric of Westminster.³ After this it was recognized that the choice lay between Ullathorne and Manning, it being sup-

¹ Leslie, p. 159; Purcell, p. 221.

² Purcell, p. 215.

³ So Coffin, on the spot and well informed, Purcell, p. 217.

posed that Cardinal Antonelli, the powerful Secretary of State, was urging Manning, but that the Pope inclined to Ullathorne; Talbot himself at the close still expected Ullathorne.¹

Pius IX had taken the matter into his own hands. There can be no doubt that Manning was the one whom he wanted, as Wiseman, too, had wanted him; but he hesitated long in face of the general opposition and the small measure of English support. W. G. Ward was the only layman to write to Rome advocating him,² and only a small circle of the clergy desired him. Talbot wrote to Ward that the bishops and the bulk of the clergy and laity were all opposed to him.³ Had the Chapter's *terna* not included Errington, it is certain that one of their nominees would have been accepted.⁴ People in high station in Rome were even afraid lest the English bishops should rebel;⁵ they little knew them, or the English character, which indeed is not well understood in Rome.

We can well believe that in this case the Pope's assurance that he thought much and prayed much was no conventional formula. When Manning came to Rome as archbishop to receive the pallium, Pius said to him that he had thought he heard a voice ever whispering, 'Mettetelo lì'—'place him there.'⁶ In this, likely enough, the wish was father to the thought. Manning was one after Pio Nono's own heart: an intransigent ultramontane; an infallibilist of the extremist type of W. G. Ward and Louis Veuillot; a papalist who would have welcomed an infallible pronouncement on the Temporal Power binding the consciences of Catholics; a Romanist in all things, who tried to block out and conceal all he could of the gothic character of his pro-cathedral, now Our Lady of Victories, Kensington, setting up a Roman high altar with full Roman ornamentation and Roman vestments. It was a foregone conclusion: on April 30 Pius IX nominated Provost Manning Archbishop of Westminster.

Rumours filtered through, but the official letter did not reach Manning at Bayswater till May 8, and the news was

¹ Leslie, p. 154.

² Purcell, p. 220.

³ Ward, *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 221, 222; cf. Purcell, p. 212.

⁴ So Talbot, Purcell, p. 270.

⁵ Leslie, p. 154.

⁶ Purcell, p. 218.

made public the next day. Ullathorne was one of the first to write to welcome the new archbishop, and Manning responded with genuine cordiality. The interchange of letters that ensued between them is printed in ch. XVI; it shows both men at their best. Ullathorne read the news in the paper and immediately wrote :

When I read the announcement I broke into a little laugh, and suddenly found a sort of lightening and expansion of the breast, which proved to me that I had been for some days under an unconscious pressure of care. I think that, under all circumstances, the Pope could not have done much better.

Manning answered with an affectionate letter, saying how much he relied on Ullathorne's friendship and help. Ullathorne undertook the office of peacemaker in conciliating the bishops and securing their presence at the consecration. He again assured Manning, 'I verily and honestly believe that the Pope has done the right thing.' He wrote to the bishops, and between them so successful were their efforts that when the new archbishop was consecrated, on June 8, Ullathorne himself was the Consecrator, and Grant and Clifford the Assistant Bishops, the whole Hierarchy being present and a full muster of the London clergy and leading laity.

Manning appreciated greatly Ullathorne's generous wholehearted support at the critical juncture. Writing to Talbot a fortnight after his appointment, he says : 'Every bishop has written, all kindly and some most warmly, above all Dr Ullathorne, with whom I am in real friendship and frequent correspondence.'¹

The acceptance both of the Pope's act and of Manning's person by the old Catholics was magnificent. Without a day's delay they flocked to welcome him—bishops, canons, clergy, laity alike. The wonderful story is told in Manning's series of delighted letters to Talbot, beginning on May 9.² The first congratulations came, even before the official announcement, from the canon whom once upon a time Manning had singled out as the embodiment of the Errington spirit³—perhaps he was :⁴

¹ Purcell, p. 225.

² Ibid., pp. 221-7.

³ Ibid., p. 125.

⁴ Ibid., p. 224: see *Wiseman*, II, 278.

MY DEAR PROV. : I hasten to congratulate you on the news just come from Rome. Long live the new Archbishop of Westminster. Now the memory of the poor dear Cardinal is honoured. Now the Holy Father has proved that he really loved and admired him. The thing augurs well for you; you are the appointed of the Holy Ghost—for the Pope has had prayers and Masses said beyond number, and has himself been in communion with God for days and days. May our Lord guide and bless you ever.—Most faithfully and affectionately yours, EDW. HEARN.

Manning was surprised, relieved, pleased, touched by the great manifestation of loyalty; he attributed it to the Holy Ghost and to the prayers of the Holy Father. He resolved in response that no act of his should ever rake up the past. But strangely—or is it characteristically?—there is in all these letters not a sign of any searching of heart or revision of judgements; no sense of any suspicion that he had grievously misjudged the old Catholics, had failed to understand them or their sterling religious qualities and loyalty to the Holy See, had judged them unjustly. His depreciations of them, and Talbot's colossal impertinences, with which their correspondence abounds, make unpleasant reading in the light of the realities as revealed when tested at the touchstone of fact.

Probably at this day no one, not even Ullathorne's biographer, will be found disposed to question that Pio Nono's act in appointing Manning to Westminster, justified itself as undoubtedly right. Still, it is always pleasant to speculate on the ' Might Have Beens ', and to try to imagine the results had Ullathorne become archbishop, as he so nearly did. Not often, surely, has any man come so near a great position without actually obtaining it. Occasions will present themselves at various points in the following pages where such estimations may be hazarded.

Archbishop Errington claims a word, as of epitaph, on passing away from the stage of history. True to his promise, true to his principles, he did not struggle or strive; he uttered no complaint, nor made any attempt to justify himself or

leave a statement of his case. The Holy See has a way of making *amende* and restitution to good men who, for reasons of policy or for the sake of the greater good, have been hardly dealt with. And so, in 1868, Manning was commissioned to approach Errington and disclose to him the desire of the Holy Father that he should accept the office of Apostolic Administrator in Scotland for the purpose of restoring the Scottish Hierarchy, in which he should become Archbishop of Edinburgh. It is characteristic of the man that he continued implacable and, against the advice of his closest friends, declined the proffered honour.¹ It was not for ten years more that the Hierarchy was restored in Scotland. As for Errington, he spent some years as parish priest at Douglas, Isle of Man; and then, on his friend Bishop Clifford reopening Prior Park, he accepted the invitation to retire there, and passed his remaining years teaching theology, until his death in 1886, revered and beloved by all who came in contact with him. Anyone who would form a just judgement on the case between the three men Errington, Wiseman, Manning, and, still more, on the men themselves, must needs read their own statements, reproduced in Wilfrid Ward's *Life of Wiseman*.²

A digression seems called for here. Leslie writes in his Preface: 'The part Manning is alleged to have played in the drama that led to the supersession of Archbishop Errington by himself in the see of Westminster is, no doubt, the crux of his biography.' I do not think so. I think that the simple statement of the facts made in these pages shows that he came through the episode with clean hands. The suggestion of self-seeking comes principally from Purcell's presentation, and that is coloured by a strange confusion, which led him to suppose that Errington was removed from the personal coadjutorship to Wiseman in July 1860, but was not deprived of the right of succession until June 1862. This idea is not supported by any facts that I can find, and it is directly

¹ Leslie, p. 180. He said, 'If he was unfit to be Archbishop of Westminster, he must be unfit to be Archbishop anywhere.'

² Vol. II: Wiseman, pp. 354-65, 381-92; Errington, pp. 587-600; Manning, pp. 366-9.

counter to the explicit terms of the Rescript of July 1860 (see p. 216). This mistake makes Purcell apply to Errington's removal from the succession, Manning's opposition in 1862 to the idea of his restoration to the Hierarchy. I agree with Wilfrid Ward that Purcell greatly exaggerates Manning's part in the transaction, and even Purcell did not insinuate that Manning was all the time playing his own hand, clearing the ground for himself to become archbishop. Still, as such suspicion does hover around Manning's name, as an uneasy ghost, it will be well to try to lay it once for all. The facts as to Manning's part may be briefly stated thus:

It was not Manning, but another agent of Wiseman's, who in December 1858 first mooted at Rome, in Wiseman's behalf, the question of Errington's removal. In January 1859 Wiseman sent out Manning to defend himself and the Oblates from Errington's attack—in this matter Errington was the aggressor, directly counter to Wiseman's wish. After the events of the Synod Wiseman went out to Rome himself to press for Errington's removal, and in January 1860 he called out Manning to join him, again to defend himself and the Oblates from Errington's attack. There is not a shred of evidence, and there is no reason for suspecting, that the idea of getting rid of Errington was suggested to Wiseman by Manning; but letters of 1859 show that Manning even before the Synod agreed in the desirability of the measure, and shared Wiseman's forebodings as to the consequences likely to follow from Errington's becoming archbishop.¹ Nor is it questioned that during the months February to July 1860 he helped Wiseman in Rome by advice and co-operation in achieving the result; that he had a great hand in it, is stated in his own letter to Talbot, September 14, 1860.² But the evidence all points to the conclusion that the idea originated with Wiseman himself, and that Wiseman fought his own case, Manning acting only as his second. So I agree with Wilfrid Ward's summing up:³ 'That Manning's iron will did materially help to keep the Cardinal firm in carrying through the contest with Errington when once it had begun, is possible enough. The precise nature and degree of his

¹ Purcell, pp. 133, 141.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³ Wiseman, II, 637; the thing is carefully gone into in Appendix F.

indirect influence must, in the absence of further evidence, remain a matter of conjecture.'

In 1863 Manning did put forth all his powers to counter the movement afoot for bringing in Errington at Westminster when Wiseman should die; but again, not in order to keep the ground open for himself. We have seen him doing his very best almost to coerce the unwilling Wiseman into having Ullathorne for coadjutor with succession. And at the final stage, the sincerity of his declarations is transparent, that he did not look for, expect, ambition, or machinate for the promotion. And so, as I read the facts, the insinuation often made, that he was all along from 1859 persistently and skillfully paving the way for his own accession at Westminster, stands out as a baseless and odious calumny.¹

For me, the crux of Manning's biography is psychological: his mentality, as displayed principally in the correspondence with Talbot; the intellectual intransigence of his estimations of men and things; and the uncharity of his judgements. Instances of the problem have already occurred. It would be premature at this point to enlarge on the subject; the suitable opportunity for dealing with it will present itself later on. But it does seem proper here to say a word in behalf of the bishops, so freely criticized and so greatly depreciated in the letters of Wiseman, Manning, and Talbot.

¹ Purcell's summaries of the whole episode (chs. v, vi) teem with palpable inaccuracies as to facts and dates, and are an utterly muddled piece of un-history. The occasion of the fundamental misconception causing all the confusion was probably Manning's letters to Talbot of August, 1862 (p. 112), and the well-known one, date not given, but attributed to about the same time (p. 95). Assuming that the date, 1862, is correctly given, these letters seem to imply that *something* of importance had just been done in the matter of Dr Errington, and apparently on June 9. These letters, as they stand, form, I admit, an unsolved difficulty. But the solution cannot be that Errington was not finally deprived of the right of succession until June, 1862; for this is directly counter to the explicit statements of the official documents. Nor was June 9, 1862, a day on which any such business would have been transacted—it was the day of the Consistory and subsequent banquet and festa at the Vatican, described by Ullathorne (p. 245). Moreover, Errington was not in Rome at all at the time, so that the interviews with the Pope spoken of by Purcell could not have taken place—they belonged to 1860. More important still, Manning was not in Rome in May and June, 1862, but in England; witness Wiseman's letters to him. I cannot help suspecting that the year 1862 as date of the letters is a mistake; they would fit in perfectly with August, 1860. Unfortunately, the original letters have not been traced.

What Talbot may have said does not matter; but what Manning said does. We find him using such language as the following: 'Though it is the new mortal sin to say that the bishops are Gallican [they had lodged complaints at Rome against the epithet], I must put it otherwise; but the end is the same—the old national, exclusive English form of Low Catholicism'; the bishops' movements in favour of Errington were 'anti-Roman and anti-papal'; those whom he had offended were 'the Gallican Catholics, national Catholics, worldly Catholics'; the support of Errington was 'a spirit of contumacy against the Holy See.'¹ And the following words of Talbot evidently but re-echo what Manning had said to him: 'I agree with you more and more, and see that until the old generation of bishops and priests is removed—to heaven, I hope, for they are good men—no great progress of religion can be expected in England.'² And of Ullathorne in particular, Herbert Vaughan's letter to Wiseman (cited p. 236) is again but the echo of Manning: 'He has come out in his true colours, Anglican and Gallican in the strongest way.'

We have seen enough, and we have more to see in the sequel, to make it plain that Ullathorne was no Gallican, unless according to the usage that applied the term to all who fell short of the personal ideas of Manning, Vaughan, Talbot, and their group. But Manning did not really think Ullathorne a Gallican: the changes of tone in speaking of him according to the mood of the moment—not as bursts of temper, but each change with fullest conviction—stand out in these pages, and form one of the features of the mentality that is the crux of Manning's biographer.

Of Ullathorne there is no need to say more; but it is right to say a word in vindication of the memory of the other bishops. Of all of them, the one most frequently subjected to unfavourable criticism is Dr Grant of Southwark, Errington's chief supporter. In the definite case between him and Wiseman, on the financial claims of their respective dioceses, Rome's adjudication was entirely in his favour, and we have the witness of Talbot that Wiseman lost much prestige at

¹ Purcell, pp. 108, 134, 209, 214.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Rome thereby.¹ Grant was Ullathorne's great friend among the bishops, and on his death at the Vatican Council Ullathorne wrote an appreciation that should be weighed by anyone desiring to form a just estimate;² he also supplied an Introduction to the second edition of Miss O'Meara's *Life of Bishop Grant*. He stands out as a man of singular piety, lovable character, and marked ability. The following few sentences from Ullathorne's letter may be cited :

Bishop Grant died this morning. A great light is put out in our little Church in England. A saint has departed from this world. The singleness of his heart and purpose was the same from childhood to his departure. He was a slave of duty and of charity. He was always praying, reading, writing, thinking of everybody but himself. . . . Look at the diocese of Southwark as it was when he took it [1851] and as it is now [1870]. Considering its own resources, it is wonderful what has been created, and what a spirit has been infused into that creation.

The whole *Life* bears witness to the justice of this panegyric.

Dr Brown, the Benedictine bishop of Newport, comes in for much depreciatory criticism. But he was universally looked up to in England as a man of high character and strong personality, a scholar of ability, widely read in the Fathers and theologians, and a most apostolic missionary bishop, who by the sweat of his brow during his forty years' episcopate turned the desert that the Catholic Vicariate of Wales was in 1840, into the well-organized and flourishing diocese of Newport (now Cardiff) that his successor, Bishop Hedley, inherited in 1880. The funeral sermon preached by Bishop Hedley stands as a worthy monument of the man and his work.

Only one other of the bishops, Dr Goss of Liverpool, need be spoken of. He was somewhat of a rough diamond, and seems to have carried on his opposition to Wiseman with violence and even rudeness—at least Wiseman thought so.³ Yet he was the kind of man needed in Liverpool in those days to fight the battle of the Catholics against the strong Protestant and Orange influences then dominating the city, and

¹ Purcell, p. 263.

² *Letters*, pp. 243-9.

³ *Dublin Review*, October, 1921, p. 180, and Purcell, p. 130.

his episcopate was one of great Catholic progress in Liverpool.¹ He died in 1872, and Archbishop Manning preached the funeral sermon. In the heat of the controversies over the College Question and Ushaw he had said of him, 'Goss with his usual rough violence—the crozier, hook and point': but fuller acquaintance and more intimate relations made him know the man better and judge him more equitably, so that at the funeral he thus characterized him:²

Some of his natural traits were solidity of character, a masculine simplicity and openness of heart which was exhibited in his face, and a calm deep manly speech, which displayed at once the character and inward spirit of his mind. He had known how Dr Goss was sometimes strong and resolute, almost to vehemence, in decisions which he thought truth or justice required; but no man was more forbearing, more considerate, or more equitable to others, or more ready, in balancing justice, to change his conclusions when facts or reason could be adduced against him.

Bishops Grant, Brown, and Goss are those whose reputations are most liable to be affected by the publication of the vivacities revealed in the private correspondences of Manning and Talbot; but the whole episcopate was involved. Of them all, it may be said that certainly they fell short of Wiseman's wider outlook and higher ideal and greater optimism regarding the mission of the Catholic Church to the people of England; nor did they share his ideas of the ways and means of bringing about the realization of his vision. But they were not incompetent obscurantists of low and narrow views. They were just a set of hard-working diocesan bishops, good pastors, who devotedly and successfully gave themselves up to the work of organizing the new dioceses entrusted to their care, and promoting in every way the religious good of their flocks. And this, after all, is the bishop's primary work, by which he should be judged.

And the London clergy. When Manning got to know them better as their bishop, he was able better to appreciate their sterling worth. At the very end of his life he wrote:³

¹ See Burke, *Catholic History of Liverpool*.

² *Ibid.*, 204.

³ Purcell, p. 784.



Alexander Goss

ALEXANDER GOSS
Bishop of Liverpool

I found myself set over a body of clergy better than myself. For goodness, conscientiousness even to scruple in the life of priestly duty, they were exemplary and highly meritorious. They were chiefly formed at St Edmund's in a system of humble and unworldly goodness.

It has so fallen out that I am able to respond to the wish expressed to me by more than one representative member of the Westminster clergy, that full justice be here done to the memory of Archbishop Errington, there still existing among the clergy the sense that his reputation has been unduly sacrificed to those of Wiseman and Manning. After the foregoing chapters, and the five that follow, had been written, there came to my hands a Memorial, found among Bishop Ward's papers, by Dr Frederick Rymer, written as a vindication of Errington. It possesses the advantage over Purcell's account, and Ward's, and Leslie's, and my own, that it is not a piece of history made up from the sources, but the living narrative of one who had been through the whole affair and knew the personages involved. Though an *Apologia* for Errington, it is marked by great temperateness of language and thought, and so far as I can see, its presentation of the facts is correct. Written, not in the heat of the controversy, but full thirty years after the events, when Vaughan was Archbishop, it is the most authoritative and judicial account of the episode. So, though lengthy, it is here given in full.

Rymer was one of the old school of St Edmund's, educated there, on the staff and prefect of studies in 1857, when he was invited by Manning to enrol himself among the Oblates. On his saying he felt no call to change his vocation as secular priest, he was removed from the college by Wiseman; but when Herbert Vaughan and the Oblates were withdrawn in 1861 he was brought back as Vice-president, and in 1868 he became President, until Manning, dissatisfied with his 'inopportunist' attitude at the time of the Vatican Council, superseded him, 1870.

Notes on the Life of Archbishop Errington during the Period of his Coadjutorship to Cardinal Wiseman.

About the year 1854 Cardinal Wiseman, finding himself unequal to the work of his diocese, determined upon taking a coadjutor. Having come to this resolve, it was but natural that his thoughts should turn to Dr Errington, the then Bishop of Plymouth. The two had known each other all their lives; they were both amongst the earliest students who had been sent to the English College at Rome, after it had been restored to the secular clergy. They had both equally distinguished themselves in the schools, and had both cooperated in the revival of the college. No man knew better than Cardinal Wiseman the ability, the extent of the knowledge, the capability of work and the general character of Dr Errington. It was not therefore unnatural that in seeking for a coadjutor his thoughts should turn in the first instance to the Bishop of Plymouth. On the other hand, he must have known that the bishop and himself were men of very different characters, and he could hardly have failed to remember that, both when as Rector of the English College in Rome, and afterwards as President of Oscott, he had had Dr Errington in the one case as his Vice-president, and in the other as his prefect of studies, he was unable to work with him on account of the divergence of their views. This knowledge should have made him think twice before petitioning for the translation of a bishop from his diocese where he was doing much good and was greatly beloved. Dr Errington himself, who was keenly alive to the difficulties of the situation, strongly urged upon the Cardinal the inadvisability of the step he was proposing to take. His Eminence, however, was deaf to his remonstrance. In reply to his objections he assured him that under the new order of things the difficulties and disagreements which had formerly arisen between them could not possibly recur: that they would be living under the same roof and in constant communication with each other, and that thus there would be no opportunity for the intervention, or rather the meddlesome interference, of a third party between them, of which the bishop had formerly complained. Their sphere of action, he added, would be perfectly distinct, and thus there

would be no danger of their views clashing with each other : that whilst he himself took the direction of the more general and more widely extended and far-reaching affairs of the Province and diocese, Dr Errington should have the management of the more strictly diocesan matters and the various details relating to missions, schools, convents, and so forth. Upon this understanding, then, Dr Errington, after consulting with his friends and with their concurrence, reluctantly waived his objections. It is true that the Cardinal later on denied that any such understanding had been arrived at; but Dr. Errington always maintained it, and in the very document which upon his trial he laid before the Propaganda he repeated his assertion. As the existence of this understanding has an important bearing on the events that followed, we will give our reasons for thinking that the Archbishop could not have been mistaken. In the first place, then, men in the pursuit of a cherished object have their thoughts more fixed upon the object to be attained than upon the means of acquiring it, and so will retain a more lively recollection of the former than of the latter; whereas they who in yielding to argument have sacrificed their strongest inclinations will not readily forget the reasons that have induced them to make the sacrifice. In the second place, the Cardinal was a man of a warm impulsive nature, and might easily forget what had escaped him in the heat of discussion and in moments of excitement. Dr Errington, on the other hand, was always cool, deliberate, and self-possessed, and so not likely to misunderstand or forget so essential a point of the discussion. There exist, moreover, two letters which greatly confirm, even if they do not completely substantiate, the accuracy of Dr Errington's account of this important interview. They are from the pen of Mgr George Talbot. Now no man was more mixed up with the matter we are now considering, and no man perhaps contributed a larger share to the transfer of Dr Errington from Plymouth to Westminster, than Mgr Talbot. When, then, the first disagreement between the Cardinal and his coadjutor took place, and the latter, foreseeing the consequences, was prepared to resign his coadjutorship, Mgr Talbot wrote to him from Rome in the following terms, in order to dissuade him from resigning :

'A rupture', he wrote, 'between your Grace and His Eminence, Cardinal Wiseman, would be a cause of great pain to the Holy Father. . . . By this very post I am writing to His Eminence, beseeching him to place on your shoulders all the labour, the odium, and the responsibility of the diocese, and to content himself with the direction of the higher and more important affairs of the Church in England.' 'It was', he continues, 'for this very purpose you were nominated coadjutor, in consequence of there being many appeals made to Rome regarding the details of the administration of the diocese of Westminster.' The second letter from the same Right Reverend Prelate is the one referred to above, and is addressed to Cardinal Wiseman himself. In the main it does but repeat, and almost in the same words, the sentiments of the former, but in consideration of its importance we deem it expedient to give it at length; and be it observed that it bears date September 4, 1855—that is, only a few months after Dr Errington's translation to the coadjutorship of Westminster. It reads as follows :

VATICAN,

September 4, 1855.

MY DEAR CARDINAL WISEMAN: I have just received a most painful letter from the Archbishop of Trebizond, from which it appears that he is greatly hurt by the want of confidence which you manifest towards him, and which has determined him to renounce his office of your coadjutor. It is hardly necessary for me to say that this would cause a great scandal and be the source of great displeasure to the Holy Father himself, as well as to all those who have had to act in his name.

The object of the nomination of Dr Errington was that he might take upon himself all the odium of the administration of your diocese, whilst your Eminence would have the direction of the more general and important affairs of the Church in England. This was done in order to relieve you from all the details of government, which were a constant source of annoyance to you, and from the neglect of which constant complaints were being made to the Holy See. Now I hold it for certain that if a rupture were to take place between you and the Archbishop, it would cause a great scandal, and it would be openly proclaimed in Rome that it is impossible to satisfy you. Already it is thought a pity that Dr Grant of Southwark should have been your nominee, and I know not what will be said if the Archbishop of Trebizond cannot agree with you.

Already I understand a party has been formed in London against Dr Errington, which has placed him in an unpleasant position. He can do nothing towards organizing the work of the diocese or to making his visitation, without having to bear all the odium of a reformer. If I were your Eminence I would cast upon him all the responsibility, all the labour, and all the odium of the visitation and not mix myself up with it in any way whatever; otherwise I am sure he will not undertake it, and he will be quite in the right.

Excuse me, dear Cardinal Wiseman, if I have spoken on this subject with too great warmth, but really I have done it out of love for you, for I fear the consequences to you of a rupture with Dr Errington.

The Holy Father is very pleased to know that you are preparing a scheme for the treatment of the Eastern Question, and I am sure that when it is completed he will read it with the attention that is its due.

Believe me, yours, etc., G. TALBOT.

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because of its importance to the subject we have in hand. For it distinctly defines the relative positions of Cardinal Wiseman and his coadjutor, it lays down the conditions upon which, and which alone, Dr Errington accepted the office, and it throws a strong light upon the subsequent conduct of the two prelates.

His experience, then, of the past, the reluctance of Dr Errington to accept the appointment, and the numerous objections that had to be met and overcome, should, as we have said, have made the Cardinal think twice before petitioning for the translation of the bishop from his diocese of Plymouth. However, the knowledge of his capacity, and perhaps a vivid remembrance of their former friendship, overcame all obstacles, and having obtained the necessary permission from Rome, he proposed to his Chapter to elect Dr Errington as his coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. I think I cannot be mistaken in stating that under ordinary circumstances the choice of the Chapter would not have fallen upon Dr Errington. With the members of the Chapter, and in general with the priests of the diocese, Dr Errington had the reputation of being emphatically a hard man; a man of an iron will, and exacting in his requirements; an upholder of the strict letter of the law irrespective of circumstances; a man calculated to inspire fear rather than to win reverence and affection. All

this notwithstanding, the Chapter, in compliance with the wishes of His Eminence, elected him. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, in order to arrive at a true estimate of the conduct of Dr Errington during the term of his coadjutorship, and of the treatment he afterwards received.

In May of the year 1855, then, Dr Errington was translated from the diocese of Plymouth, created Archbishop of Trebizond and Coadjutor to His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, with the right of succession to the see of Westminster. At that time the Archbishop of Westminster resided at 8, York Place, in a house hardly roomy enough for one, still less for two archbishops, and it had been settled that the two should live together. The introduction of the new archbishop to his new domicile gave occasion to an incident highly characteristic of his spirit of self-denial and indifference to personal comforts. He was asked if he was satisfied, and could make himself happy in his new abode. Stationing himself in a roomy attic, and surveying attentively every nook and corner, he replied, 'Oh, yes; I shall find room enough here for my books and papers, and so this will do for me.' He accordingly installed himself in this attic, and it was here the writer of these memoirs had his first interview with him after his translation.

In addition to the ordinary work of the diocese, the new archbishop, on entering upon his office, found two important matters calling for his attention. The first was the state of St Edmund's College, at that time the seminary for the priests of the dioceses of Westminster and Southwark, and the second the canonical visitation of the various missions and religious institutions of the diocese. The discharge of these two important duties constituted his chief occupation during the term of his coadjutorship, and may be said to have been the sources from which the serious troubles in which he was afterwards involved took their rise.

In treating of the first of these duties, it will be necessary, in order properly to understand the action of the archbishop, to state with some little detail events that had preceded his entrance upon the scene.

The year 1845, as is well known, was the culminating point of the great Oxford Movement, and the year of the reception

of its chief leaders into the bosom of the Church. One of the foremost amongst these was the celebrated Dr Ward. Conscious of his great abilities and eager to employ them in the service of God and His Church, Dr Ward sought and obtained permission to give a course of lectures to the students of St Edmund's College. He began by expounding to the class of philosophy Butler's *Analogy*, a subject, we need hardly say, outside of, or at least supplementary to, their ordinary course of study. After a while he assumed a more prominent position, and was appointed lecturer on dogmatic theology. The position was a most anomalous one, and such as perhaps could not find its parallel in any Catholic college in Christendom—viz., that a recent convert, a layman and a married man, should be the appointed teacher of dogmatic theology to a class of theological students. The result, however, was in many respects a great success. There could be no question as to the great ability of the lecturer; his lectures were most carefully prepared, and his manner was most eloquent and captivating. There can be as little question, too, that the lecturer wrought a great improvement intellectually on the minds of the students. He gave them an interest in their work; he taught them to weigh opinions instead of repeating them as the *ipse dixits* of a master. He gave them command of their thoughts, and taught them to reflect and to reason. In addition to this merely intellectual improvement effected by Dr Ward, it is but fair to add that, being a man of fervent piety, both by his lectures and by his frequent conversations, he exerted a moral influence conducing greatly to the spiritual profit of his pupils. This is the bright side of the picture; but it has its reverse. Dr Ward was a man of strong opinions and of exalted 'ideals'. As a Protestant clergyman he had written a book embodying his ideas of what a Christian Church ought to be, which he himself used jocularly to call his 'fat book', and which procured for him the sobriquet of 'Ideal Ward'. He had spent many years at Oxford, where, as a matter of course, he became acquainted with the best systems of education, conducted with all the advantages and appliances that wealth could bestow, and was witness of their results in his intercourse with the talented young men who successively came

up to Oxford. Himself a Fellow of Balliol College, he was in constant intercourse with the most intellectual men of the day, such as Tait and Stanley, Palmer and Pusey, Oakeley and Newman, the greatest of them all. Transferred from such an atmosphere of intellect and learning to the college of St Edmund's, it is no wonder that he felt, and felt keenly, the difference. And such was the character of his mind that, feeling keenly, every defect presented itself under an exaggerated aspect to his imagination, nor was he slow in giving expression to his opinions. With him the whole system, and subjects of study, as pursued at St Edmund's, were radically wrong; the professors were men of little intellect, and unfit for their office. He once said of himself and his connection with St Edmund's College, that he was 'doing God's work, but in the Devil's way.' In equally expressive language he declared of the college professors 'that they were doing the Devil's work,' and though I cannot vouch for his having added the qualification, I believe he would have admitted that it was in God's way. It would have been perhaps pardonable if, holding these strong opinions, he had given expression to them to those only who had power to remedy the supposed evils. But such was not the case. They were public property, and found utterance even in his public lectures to the students. He drew up a long and formal memorial embodying his views and complaints, copies of which were sent to Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Grant; and a similar memorial expressive of the same opinions was presented, whether or not at his instigation I cannot say, by two of his most talented and favourite pupils, to the President of the College. Another cause of disagreement was added to those I have already mentioned. In his lectures on dogmatic theology Dr Ward did not confine himself strictly to dogmatic subjects, but not unfrequently made excursions into the region of moral theology, and it sometimes happened that his views were not altogether in harmony with those of the other professors. Especially was this the case in regard to the guilt incurred in almost every action by the obstinate sinner. His views and teaching were opposed by the President, and with one exception by every priest in the house. The dispute became very warm and led to serious misunderstanding.

Dr Ward, of course, stoutly defended his opinions, laid a lengthy exposition of them before the Cardinal and Dr Grant, tried to obtain in their favour the support of the first theologians of the day, printed and circulated a tract entitled *De peccatis obduratorum*, and of this sent copies to Rome to Doctor, afterwards Father, Coleridge, S.J., in order to obtain a favourable verdict from the then celebrated professors Perrone and Passaglia. What report Father Coleridge may have made to Dr Ward I am unable to say, but I never heard of Dr Ward's expressing his satisfaction with it. This, however, I am able to affirm, that being myself interested and even involved in the discussion, and being a year or two later in Rome, I consulted the two above-named professors on the subject. Both were opposed to Dr Ward's views, and one of them added the remark that Dr Ward was no theologian.

Such, then, was the state of things when Dr Errington went down to St Edmund's to make his inquiries and present his report. That he did his work thoroughly and conscientiously, no one who knew the man will hesitate to admit. My own opinion is that he was somewhat narrow and one-sided. He had his own preconceived, we might say stereotyped, notions of what education ought to be, and what knowledge the students ought to possess, and paid hardly sufficient attention to the system that had actually been pursued and the line of instruction that had been followed. This was especially the case in regard to dogmatic theology. Dr Ward had deviated in his lectures very widely from the beaten track, and had prepared a syllabus of questions in which he wished his pupils to be examined. This was almost entirely discarded, and the examination conducted on the lines laid down by the standard Catholic authors. The result could not be doubtful. The archbishop's report was most unfavourable, and in particular he was most urgent that Dr Ward should cease to lecture in the college. The Cardinal for a while acquiesced, and Dr Ward resigned his professorship. He had, however, friends at court. He was himself on most intimate terms with the Cardinal, and possessed in his own person almost every characteristic that was likely to win him over to his side. He was a convert, had a great reputation, possessed great ability, was brilliant

in conversation, and was most genial and attractive in his manner. Accordingly, he shortly after posted up to London and had a long interview with His Eminence. In addition to this, Dr Weathers, the President, unwilling to deprive the students of the benefits of his talents, unfortunately seconded his suit and advocated a compromise. We say *unfortunately*, for in our opinion to continue Dr Ward in office was to sacrifice the peace and general welfare of the college to the intellectual improvement of one of its classes. In the end Dr Ward prevailed, and Dr Errington's decision was reversed. This was not a hopeful commencement for the new coadjutor, and it has been said that the Cardinal was so alive to the slur he was casting upon him that he had not the courage to announce to him his determination in the usual formal way, but took occasion of his departure on a railway journey, in wishing him good-bye, to add, as it were, in a casual by-the-way sort of manner, 'Dr Ward will continue to lecture in theology at the college.' The consequences of this embroglio were not confined to the immediate result, and probably had an important effect upon the final issue of the differences that afterwards arose between the Cardinal and his coadjutor. They encouraged the idea that the Cardinal's ear was open to receive complaints, and that he would not be slow to reverse the archbishop's decisions; and they could hardly fail to embitter the relations, never very cordial, between Dr Errington and Dr Ward. When, therefore, we consider the close intimacy that afterwards existed between Dr Ward and Dr Manning, and the very important and even vital part that the latter played in bringing about the dismissal of Dr Errington from the diocese, and the annulling of his right to the succession, we can but think that this first passage-of-arms between the two had a considerable effect upon the final result.

For a year or two after this, Dr Errington seems to have been chiefly occupied with his ordinary duties as bishop, with the preparation for and attendance at the second and third Provincial Synods, with the administration of the diocese of Clifton rendered vacant by the death of Dr Burgess, and with the affairs of Prior Park, which was in a state of hopeless bankruptcy. We cannot refer to this part of his career with-

out paying the tribute of our admiration to his zeal. To the clergy he was ever easy of access, would enter into their difficulties and troubles, assist them with his advice, and oftentimes with his purse. No labours seemed to daunt him. In the case of the illness or absence of a priest he would week after week on a Saturday go to the poorest missions, assist in hearing confessions, and take his share in the Sunday duties, satisfied with the meanest accommodation. Oftentimes, too, during his visitations, notwithstanding his own heavy work, he would relieve the priests of their sick calls on the plea that they had to prepare their sermons or sing the High Mass or duplicate the next day.

We now come to the time of the diocesan visitation and its results. Such a visitation as was then instituted had not been made, certainly since the re-establishment of the Hierarchy and probably not since the Reformation. In many respects Dr Errington was specially adapted to the work. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Church's laws and requirements, understood finance, possessed energy which never seemed to weary, and was withal kind and affable, patient and forbearing, sympathetically entering into all the troubles of his priests, and assisting them as far as he could in all their difficulties. There are but few priests now living who had been ordained, and who had any share in this visitation. Perhaps not half a dozen. But of that half-dozen I know of none who has not some edifying anecdote to relate of the kindness he received on that occasion from the archbishop. Nor were his acts of kindness confined to the clergy, but were extended to their flocks. I remember on the occasion of his visitation of my own parish, bringing under his notice the case of a young lady parishioner who was anxious to join a religious Order, but who had not the necessary means. The archbishop at once supplied what was needed and so enabled her to follow her vocation.

On the other hand, the visitation of the diocese was an arduous task, and was made still more arduous by the circumstances attending it. It was the first visitation after the establishment of the Hierarchy, when it became necessary as far as circumstances would permit, to introduce more of system and order and uniformity into the administration of the

various missions. No doubt, too, considering the natural tendency to deterioration of all human institutions, and the great difficulties that had to be encountered, much irregularity and many abuses must have crept in. All this had to be corrected, if with a mild, still with a firm hand. And taking into account the diversity of views and differences of character that exist even amongst good and zealous priests, we cannot be surprised if the conduct of the archbishop did not produce universal satisfaction, or if it gave rise to various complaints. In addition to the sources of trouble I have mentioned, there was unfortunately another to be found in the character of his immediate superior. Cardinal Wiseman was a man of broad views, unwilling to be impeded and, as it were, hemmed in by the mere letter of the law, and ready to make ample, and very ample, allowance to the circumstances of a case; he was of a sympathetic nature, soft and yielding to complaints, especially to those of persons who had found favour in his sight. Added to this he had an exalted, we should perhaps say an exaggerated, idea of his own authority and power of dispensation. If law was quoted against him, he could be lenient in its interpretation; if finances were said to be appropriated to certain definite objects, then could he be ingenious in finding reasons for diverting them to what he considered more important objects. Now the character of Dr Errington was very much the reverse of all this. With him *law* was *law*, and, where possible, to be enforced; a *trust* was a *trust* to be religiously appropriated to its prescribed purpose. Under these circumstances, therefore, we cannot be surprised that priests who thought they had a grievance were only too loud in their complaints, that they appealed to the Cardinal with whom they confidently expected to find a ready hearing, and that in many cases the injunctions of the archbishop were rescinded by the Cardinal. There can be no doubt, indeed, that at the time a considerable outcry was raised against the archbishop for the manner in which the visitation had been conducted. He was accused of being too rigid, too exacting, of being unreasonable, unpractical, impossible. But in order to form a correct judgment we must bear in mind that men who have or think they have a grievance are always louder in their utterance, and

more exaggerated in their expression, than are those who have no complaint to make. Whilst, on the other hand, a large number of sensible, zealous, hard-working priests, had no fault to find, and were not only satisfied, but admired and were greatly edified with the manner in which the archbishop conducted his visitation. This was shown a little later on when the archbishop's cause was pending in Rome. An address was got up by some of his clergy expressive of their sympathy with him in his troubles and of their admiration of the zeal he had displayed and of the kindness they had received from him since he had been amongst them, and especially at the time of the visitation of the diocese.¹ This address was circulated amongst the clergy, and of those to whom it was presented I know of no one who did not concur in the sentiments it expressed. I regret, however, to have to add that it was never presented, and that mainly from a fear that its signatories would thereby incur the displeasure of His Eminence the Cardinal. Nor have I any hesitation in saying that the effect of the visitation was to secure to the archbishop many more friends than it deprived him of. For if, on the one hand, his zeal and energy and self-sacrifice were calculated to gain their admiration, his kindness, his affability, his sympathy and self-abasement could hardly fail to win their love and affection. A further proof of the truth of this statement may be found in the reminiscence of some of the priests who still survive, who had experience of him at the time. They have been consulted quite promiscuously for the purposes of this memoir, and without any reference whatever to their being or not being advocates and friends of the archbishop. The verdict has been perfectly unanimous; and there is not one who does not express, and some in most enthusiastic terms, his admiration for the virtues of the archbishop, and his sense of the kindness he received at his hands.²

To these testimonies in favour of Dr Errington we must not omit to add that of Cardinal Wiseman himself. It is the more important because it is a judgement pronounced after the termination of the visitation, and is deliberate and

¹ The address is printed by Purcell, p. 100. It is well worth reading.

² A bundle of these letters are preserved in an 'Errington' dossier at Old Hall.

formal, conveyed to the whole body of the clergy in an Encyclical letter to them announcing the celebration of the Diocesan Synod of 1858. 'The provisions of the Synod about to be celebrated', writes the Cardinal in his Pastoral Letter, 'will be the result of the Visitation of the diocese just completed, which has been carried out by our very dear Brother and Coadjutor the Archbishop of Trebizond with a diligence, an exactitude, a labour, and a suavity which it would be difficult to surpass.'

Let this suffice for the effect of the visitation on the minds of the clergy in general. Unfortunately we have reason to think that its effects in some quarters were very different. The complaints of the dissatisfied were listened to, and, we fear, brought the Cardinal and his coadjutor into collision, and thus no doubt exercised an important influence in bringing about the deposition of Dr Errington from the coadjutorship and the depriving him of his right of succession to the see of Westminster.

In connection with the history of the coadjutorship of Dr Errington, the next subject that calls for our consideration is the introduction of the Congregation of the Oblates of St Charles into the diocese of Westminster. This forms the most important episode of his administration, inasmuch as it brought him into direct collision with Doctor, afterwards Cardinal, Manning, and was the chief cause of his being deprived of the coadjutorship and of his right of succession.

About the year 1856, then, Dr Manning formed the design of introducing the Oblates of St Charles into Westminster. Whether the design was original or whether it was inspired by Cardinal Wiseman we are unable to say.¹ It is, however, certain that it was in perfect conformity with the views of the Cardinal. For many years he had felt a strong desire to have under him a body of devoted priests who should be completely under his direction and who should be ready to address themselves to any duty, whether it were of preaching, or of teaching, or of giving missions, or any other priestly work that he might require of them. Even while Rector of the English College and before his consecration as bishop this idea had taken strong possession of his mind,

¹ We have seen (p. 208) that it certainly was the Cardinal's own conception.

and in a memorial presented at the time to the Holy See he gave expression to this favourite idea. The design of Dr Manning therefore could not fail to be gratifying to him. Secure of the approbation and assistance of his bishop, Dr Manning accordingly set to work with his wonted vigour and ability. In the first place he had to look for subjects, and such he readily found among some recent converts who in former days had been greatly attached to him, and also among the professors of St Edmund's College. Of these the Vice-president, now Cardinal Vaughan, the prefect of discipline, Rev. S. McDonell, and the Rev. Henry O'Callaghan at once expressed their willingness to join him. The next point was to study the rules of St Charles, and adapt them so far as necessary to the needs of the English Mission. And here a difficulty at once arose. The essential principle and characteristic of the Oblates of St Charles was that they should be utterly and without restriction servants of the bishop. He was to send them where he liked and employ them in whatever functions he chose. Now it was manifest that in view of the paucity of priests, and the numerous and diverse requirements of an English diocese, such a principle was hardly compatible with the existence of any community, still less with one at the period of its foundation, and when it could hardly be said to be even in its infancy. For community life requires that its members should live together and not be scattered over the diocese, living apart and seldom visited by their superior, and not unfrequently living quite by themselves and away from every other member of the congregation. Dr Manning was of course not slow to perceive this fact, and therefore in introducing the congregation he at once altered the rule, and whereas in the original constitutions of St Charles the bishop had unlimited power over the organization of the society and the disposal of its members, in the new foundation this power was limited and made in great measure dependent on the rules of the congregation and on the will of its Superior. But to introduce such a change as this was to strike at the very essence of the original congregation, to destroy its special characteristic, to annul its very *raison d'être*. Its very essence was to be a subservient instrument in the hands of the bishop; and deprived

of this characteristic in what did it differ from many other congregations, such as that of the Oratorians or of the Pious Missions, etc. ?

Dr Errington, who was eminently a practical man, at once pointed out this distinction to the Cardinal, and opposed the introduction into the diocese of a body sailing under false colours, claiming to be purely secular priests, and as such to be entitled to all the rights and privileges, whatever they might be, belonging to secular priests, and on the other hand retaining all the characteristics and rights of a religious congregation. The Cardinal, however, either persuaded by the skilful representations of Dr Manning, or carried away by his eagerness to realize his long-cherished plans, turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of his coadjutor. The congregation, accordingly, of the Oblates of St Charles received the approbation of His Eminence, and was formally established in the diocese. The Mother House was at Bayswater, now called St Mary of the Angels, and the mission of St Edward's, Palace Street, Pimlico, was also attached to it and placed under the government and direction of the superior of the Congregation. The transfer of the unfinished church at Bayswater, and of the freehold ground and the buildings erected on it, again gave rise to a difference of views between the Cardinal and his coadjutor. The ground had been purchased, the schools erected and the church partially built out of moneys which had been given for the benefit of the secular clergy, and the whole of the property was vested in four trustees chosen from the secular priesthood. These four trustees were now required by the Cardinal to resign their trust to four newly chosen trustees, all four members of the newly founded congregation; and the church which was to have been dedicated to St Helen in accordance with the wish of a liberal benefactress, if she might not more properly be called the foundress, Mrs. Helen Hargrave, was dedicated to St Mary of the Angels. In this transaction Dr Errington saw, or thought he saw, a grave injustice, and an infringement of the rights of the diocesan clergy; and in consequence he did his best to oppose the action of His Eminence.

But there was another cause of difference more important

in itself, and more serious in its consequences than any we have stated. It has already been mentioned that of the superiors of the diocesan seminary of St Edmund, the Vice-president, the prefect of discipline, and one or two of the professors, had either actually joined or had promised to join the new congregation. The existence of such a body within the walls of the college, more especially when it was no secret that its most influential member, namely, the Vice-president, Fr Vaughan, was strongly opposed to the views of the President, and was endeavouring by his influence with the Cardinal to effect the removal of the President from office, could not fail to be fraught with evil consequences. It must necessarily produce division in the house, generate parties and materially interfere with the enforcement of discipline. Such a state of things could not be allowed to continue. Two courses were open: either to remove the Oblates, or to entrust the diocesan college to their government. To those who know the confidence which at that time the Cardinal reposed in the wisdom and virtue of Dr Manning, the completeness with which he had surrendered himself to his influence, and his eagerness to promote what he deemed the interests of the new congregation, it will hardly be a matter of surprise that he chose the latter of these two alternatives. It will equally be a matter of little surprise, that his coadjutor took an opposite view and opposed in every way that he could the carrying out of the project. His practical and experienced mind at once grasped the situation and foreboded the difficulties that would follow from the carrying out of the scheme. For consider: it was proposed to entrust the government of the diocesan seminary to a congregation that could hardly even be said to be in its infancy, for it had scarcely as yet begun its existence. The Superior was a convert, a very able and distinguished man it is true; but a man knowing but little of Catholic traditions, even if it be not true to say that he despised them; and altogether unversed in the system of Catholic colleges, and what is still worse, with very little sympathy with the existing order of things. The members of the congregation were few in number, scarcely exceeding some half-dozen, many of them moreover converts, and thus

affording little scope for the choice of superiors and professors fitted to govern and teach in the college. Added to this there was not merely the risk, but the certainty that many of the students, and these probably the most promising ones, would be drawn as recruits to the new congregation. In some cases this attraction might be spontaneous, but in many cases it would be owing to the influence and persuasion of the superiors. In this way a twofold injustice would be inflicted on the secular clergy. In the first place they would be deprived of the choicest subjects destined to recruit their forces, and in the second the funds belonging to the diocese would be employed to replete the numbers of the Oblates. No wonder, then, the coadjutor took alarm; and there was added an especial reason why he should. Cardinal Wiseman was at this time advanced in years, and in failing health, and it was not likely that he would be spared for long to govern the diocese. Archbishop Errington had been appointed, and it is a point ever to be carefully borne in mind, had been appointed coadjutor *cum jure successionis*. To him, therefore, in succeeding to the Cardinal, as it was likely he soon would do, would fall the unpleasant alternative of either undoing the work of his predecessor, or of continuing a system of which he most heartily disapproved. Nor did he stand alone in his opposition. The cause was taken up by the canons of the Chapter as the representatives of the diocesan clergy. And with the exception of the Provost, Dr Manning, who was at the same time the Superior of the Oblates, the canons were unanimous in their condemnation of the scheme, and determined to do all that lay in their power to prevent its being carried into effect.

To proceed regularly, and at the same time cautiously, they first invited the President of the College, Dr Weathers, to lay before them an account of the state of things as then existing at St Edmund's, and they further requested the Superior of the Oblates to lay before them the rules of the congregation, with his explanations of them, that they might be the better judges of their bearing on the seminary and diocesan interests. The result of this examination and their after-deliberations was that they presented a petition to the

Cardinal requesting him to put in force the decree of the Council of Trent relating to seminaries. This decree provides that two deputies should be chosen from the Chapter to advise with the Ordinary relative to the administration of the seminary. This decree, we believe, had been incorporated in the regulations of the first Provincial Synod of Westminster, and the Cardinal himself had in 1853 nominated two deputies chosen as directed by the decree. But beyond the nomination of the deputies, it does not appear that the decree was further carried out. In accordance with their resolution a deputation of the Chapter waited on the Cardinal and presented their petition. They were received far from graciously. He deferred, however, giving a formal answer to their petition for some months. When this formal answer, which was in writing, came it charged the Chapter with having exceeded its competence, with intruding itself into the administration of the diocese, and with having entered upon an unjustifiable and dangerous course. Seeing that they had little reason to expect any satisfaction from the Cardinal the Chapter determined to carry their petition direct to the Holy See, and this was accordingly done. The answer they received was to refer the whole question of the colleges to the third Provincial Synod which was to be shortly held at Oscott. We may add a few words in explanation of the final issue of this difference between the Cardinal and his Chapter. In drawing up their petition the canons had not confined their request to the appointment of deputies such as had been decreed by the Council of Trent, but had added—and, as it would seem to an outsider, added out of courtesy—the reason of their request, and in so doing had animadverted upon the institutions of the Oblates and their relations to the seminary. It was in this addition that the Cardinal saw an invasion of his rights and an unjustifiable intrusion into the administration of the diocese. The bishops, too, when the case was referred to their decision, took the same view as the Cardinal, and the canons, while maintaining the main point of the petition, apologized for the intrusion of the addition. The former friendly relations, however, between the Cardinal and his Chapter were never re-established.

It was hardly possible that Dr Errington should not be involved in this quarrel. He was on most intimate terms, and in daily communication with the Vicar General and other members of the Chapter, and was known to be well versed in canon law and the forms of the Roman Courts, and so was constantly applied to for advice, and, what was more than all, it was well known that it was his opinion that the Chapter was defending, and his battles that they were fighting. The Cardinal accordingly was deeply offended and wrote to Dr. Errington for an explanation. The answer did not satisfy him, and shortly after he petitioned the Holy See to have him removed from the coadjutorship.

Properly to understand and appreciate what follows it is necessary to pass in review the chief actors in the transactions. There was no doubt a numerous party in the diocese who were strongly opposed to the archbishop, who regarded him as too narrow-minded, too formal, too severe and too uncompromising, and who received with satisfaction the project of his removal from office; and their voices we may be sure were not silent in the struggle that was to be engaged in at Rome. Next, there was living under the same roof as the Holy Father, with ready access to him at all times, and possession, as it would seem, of almost unbounded influence over him, the now celebrated Monsignor George Talbot. He was a convert, had worked devotedly as a missionary priest for at least two years at St George's, Southwark, and proceeding to Rome became perhaps the most intimate and influential friend and adviser of the Pope. Though his knowledge of the real state of Catholicity in England could have been little more than superficial, and though his abilities even in the estimate of his friends were not of a high order, yet in matters connected with the English Church the Pope, it would seem, looked to him for information, and relied upon him for advice. He thus exercised a power in the Court of Rome superior perhaps to that of its highest officials. He himself has recorded his belief that 'No one knew the mind of the Pope better than himself'; and elsewhere he declared his conviction 'that there was nothing which, if he chose to act in an underhand way, he could not carry through.' That as a matter of fact he did intervene in the dispute and throw

his great influence into the scale in behalf of Cardinal Wiseman, we have indisputable evidence. For he was a great admirer of the Cardinal, and set a very high value on the work he had been doing in England. The Cardinal had received him into the Church, and thus a strong personal attachment had grown up between them. Moreover, the Cardinal in a letter thanks him for the great sympathy and kindness he had shown him and the support he had given him throughout the sad affair of the dispute with his coadjutor. Finally, on another occasion respecting the coadjutorship, Mgr Talbot urged the Cardinal to write a letter direct to the Pope marking it *riservata* (or private), so that it might not go to Propaganda, which in all such matters is the recognized channel of communication with the Holy See.

Then there was Dr Manning, so well known for the diplomatic skill and untiring energy with which he pursued the object of his desires. From the very nature of the case he was a strenuous opponent of the coadjutor, for it was the question of the introduction and the position of the congregation of the Oblates, of which he was the founder, that was the very centre and origin of the quarrel. He, like Mgr Talbot, was well known at Rome. In his frequent visits to the Eternal City he had lost no opportunity of making friends and extending his influence, and was, we believe, on intimate terms with the Holy Father himself. He was far too astute a diplomatist not to perceive and avail himself of the opportunity of increasing this influence by the friendship of Mgr Talbot. Accordingly, though they may previously have been well known to each other, their communications at this time became more frequent and confidential. When Dr Manning was in England hardly an event happened in the diocese which was not communicated to Rome, and there was hardly a prominent actor in any transaction whose character was not canvassed, and we are sorry to add, not always in a very charitable spirit. Thus, Dr Errington is spoken of as a Gallican and anti-Roman, charges particularly odious and damaging in the estimation of the Roman Court; as harsh and unpopular, and so rigid a formalist as, to use the exaggerated expression of Mgr Talbot himself, 'to be willing that souls went to hell provided they went there by

rule',¹ and as bent upon undoing upon his succession all the good work that had been done by his predecessor the Cardinal. Of the saintly Bishop Grant it was said that he encouraged the disaffected and rebellious priests of Westminster, and gave them a shelter in his diocese, and that he was made a tool of by his Gallican Chapter. Of the body of the bishops constituting the Hierarchy it was affirmed that until it had died out no great progress in religion could be expected in England. Of such honoured names as those of Canon O'Neal, Canon McGuire, Canon Oakeley, and Dr (afterwards Bishop) Weathers, it was affirmed that they were not fit to have even a voice in the choice of an Archbishop of Westminster. Such were the reports that were sent to Rome, and which, under the circumstances we have detailed, were pretty sure to be whispered into the ears of the Holy Father.²

Nor, in our estimate of the state of things preceding the regular investigation of the case, must we omit the fact that disaffected priests of the diocese, if not invited to bring forward their grievances against the coadjutor archbishop, were at least given to understand by persons in the closest communication with the authorities that such complaints would be received with a welcome.³ Accordingly, letters full of complaint against the archbishop, and urging his removal from the coadjutorship, were sent to Mgr Talbot. What use he made of them we may conjecture, but have not the means of judging. On the other hand, we have yet to learn that, in regard to those priests of the diocese who sympathized with Dr Errington, similar invitations were addressed to come forward and openly proclaim their admiration of his many virtues, of the zeal and energy he had displayed in the work of the diocese, and of the good he had done. This would have been the fair and open course and the true means of arriving at a just decision. But amongst the influences brought to bear upon the case previously to its being submitted to a formal investigation, we must not omit that of Cardinal Wiseman himself. As is

¹ In his Defence Errington repudiated having ever said or thought such a thing; yet it was one of the tales currently told of him.

² These things are all to be found in Manning's letters to Talbot.

³ More than one of the letters of the London priests of the time in the Old Hall dossier vouch for the correctness of this statement.

well known, he had by his talents and writings achieved a European reputation for scholarship. He occupied indisputably and without compare the foremost place amongst the bishops of England, and a very high, perhaps even an exaggerated, estimate had been formed of the work he had done and was likely to do towards the Catholicizing of the country. Added to this he stood high in the confidence of the Holy Father, and we may say was on terms of intimacy and even affection with him. So much was this the case, that upon his first interview with the Pope after his arrival in December 1859, the Pope embraced him and assured him 'that everything should be done as he could wish, and that he would settle everything himself.' Now the Cardinal had written in the early part of the year asking for the removal of his coadjutor, and this without having previously acquainted him with his intention of doing so, and without giving him the opportunity of knowing the precise charges that were brought against him and of preparing his answers; a proceeding of which Archbishop Errington very justly complained. A final quotation from a letter of Mgr Talbot, written to the Cardinal in November 1859, will still further elucidate the state of things that prevailed in Rome before the case between the Cardinal and his Coadjutor was formally brought before the tribunals. Indeed it will do more than elucidate; it will produce the painful impression that the case had already been prejudged, and that Archbishop Errington's removal from the coadjutorship and the right of succession had been determined upon before he had been even heard in his defence.

'You need not be anxious', writes Mgr Talbot to the Cardinal, 'about the result of your visit to Rome. You may be certain that the Pope will grant you all you want, and that he will desire your coadjutor, who has been the cause of all your sufferings during the last year, to retire.' These, be it remembered, are the words of the man who boasted, and boasted truly we believe, that 'No man knew the mind of the Pope better than he did.' We may now proceed to the consideration of the formal inquiry into the case, and the final judgement that was pronounced between the Cardinal and his Coadjutor.

In the month of December, then, of 1859 the Cardinal journeyed to Rome, and a few days later had an interview with the Holy Father and received from him the cordial and affectionate welcome to which we have already drawn attention, and the assurance that all should be settled in accordance with his wishes. A few days later Archbishop Errington also arrived, and after the holidays and towards the spring of 1860 the case came on for decision. It was at first thought that the Pope intended to take the matter entirely into his own hands, and under this impression Archbishop Errington drew up a statement of his case addressed directly to the Holy Father and with his permission. His main object is, as he states, to rectify certain statements which the Holy Father had made to him in regard to the complaints that had been brought against him. A little later on, however, it was determined to appoint a commission of three Cardinals to investigate the case and pronounce their opinion. Accordingly a second memorial addressed to the newly appointed commission was drawn up by the archbishop. In this he complains that up to the present no formal statement of the charges against him had been put into his hands, and that he knew of such charges only from private letters and vague rumours; whereas the usual course in similar cases is to lay before the accused the precise charges brought, and thus to give him a fair opportunity of preparing his answers. He then proceeds to lay before the commission his views of the various occurrences that had been alleged against him, so far as they had been brought to his knowledge. These statements he has made as brief as he could in order not to weary and confuse the minds of the assessors with a heap of details. In a lengthy appendix, however, to which he refers them, he has gone thoroughly into the circumstances and explanation of each particular case. These cases, as he says, reduce themselves chiefly to three: First, his opposition to the Oblates, and mainly if not entirely to their establishment in the diocesan seminary; second, his siding with the Chapter in their quarrel with the Cardinal; and third, his sustained opposition to His Eminence at the Third Provincial Synod at Oscott on the question of the government of the Catholic

colleges. To these points we shall have occasion to refer later.

Previous to drawing up his memorial, Archbishop Errington had, early in March, had an interview with the Holy Father. In this interview the Pope most earnestly entreated him to resign the coadjutorship, and offered him in exchange the important see of Trinidad. With this request the archbishop refused to comply, on the ground that his character and honour were at stake. When there was only a question of divergence of views between himself and the Cardinal, he had more than once tendered his resignation; but now that serious faults were laid to his charge, his resignation would imply an acknowledgement of his guilt. He asked for a formal inquiry, at the same time professing his readiness to obey any command of His Holiness, though he could not comply with a mere personal request.

After this interview, and perhaps as a consequence of it, Cardinal Wiseman was asked to prepare his statement of the case for the information of the commission. This he did in a lengthy document extending over a hundred pages of foolscap. Now a promise had been given to Dr Errington by the Prefect of the Propaganda, in accordance, we are told, with the practice usual in such cases, that the statements of the two litigants should be interchanged in order that each might have the opportunity of learning and answering the views and statements of the other. On the present occasion, however, through the intervention of the Pope, the practice was not enforced. For the Cardinal had written to him earnestly entreating him not to permit it. He was in a very weak state of health, and the drawing up of his memorial had already taxed his strength beyond what he was able to bear, and to draw up another in answer to his coadjutor would assuredly endanger his life. His arguments and entreaties prevailed and no interchange of documents took place. And here we may interrupt the history of the proceedings with one or two reflections, touching upon the justice of this decision. Dr Errington, it must be remembered, had already complained that no precise and formal statement of His Eminence's charges against him had ever been presented to him. Now, therefore, that they had been

formally and deliberately set down in the Cardinal's memorial, it seemed but right and just that they should be submitted to him. Moreover, the state of the Cardinal's health, though it might afford a very valid reason for exempting him from the labour and pain of replying to the archbishop, supplied on the other hand no reason why the archbishop should be denied the opportunity of replying to him. The Cardinal, and not the Archbishop, was the accuser, and if the state of his health rendered him unwilling or unable to read and reply to the statements of the accused, this was no reason why the accused should be deprived of the right of replying to his accuser. Furthermore, if the state of the Cardinal's health rendered it impossible to follow the usual procedure and that which justice would seem to demand, then the conclusion should have been that judgement must be delayed and no decision pronounced at the risk of violating justice.

However, the Pope rules supreme, and at his behest the two documents in question were laid before the commission of three Cardinals, one of whom we may remark was Cardinal Reisach, an intimate friend and admirer of both Cardinal Wiseman and Dr Manning. The commission met towards the end of June, and, it is said, were unanimous in their opinion that the archbishop should be removed from the coadjutorship and right of succession. This decision of the commission was on the 24th of June laid before the Pope and confirmed by him. A final effort was, however, made to induce the archbishop voluntarily to resign. The Pope sent for him, and after urging the motives that he had adduced at their former interview, entreated him to resign. The archbishop again refused, and accordingly on the 22nd of July the Holy Father by an exercise of his supreme authority and an exertion of power altogether unwonted and perhaps unprecedented, sanctioned a decree depriving Archbishop Errington of his coadjutorship and right of succession to the see of Westminster. In this decree no reason for this severe sentence is adduced, beyond the disagreement in their views which existed between Cardinal Wiseman and his coadjutor, and a general concern for the welfare of the diocese of Westminster and the suffragan bishoprics. On

the first of these two heads, it is obvious to remark that a disagreement needs the action of two agents and would necessarily cease upon the death of either the Cardinal or the Archbishop, and during their joint lives might be met by the coadjutor being forbidden to act during the lifetime of the Cardinal. It furnished no ground for depriving him of his right of succession. As to the second point, viz., a concern for the welfare of the diocese, we may well ask in what particular the diocese of Westminster differed so materially from other dioceses, that the man who was acknowledged to be fit to govern those should be unfit only for Westminster. For it must be ever borne in mind that both before and after the issuing the decree, nay, it may be said in the very act of pronouncing it, the Pope had offered for his acceptance the important see of Trinidad, and later on that of Glasgow.¹ Again, Archbishop Errington was one of the most unchangeable of men; his ideas, views, principles, conduct, and character were thoroughly stereotyped, the same from the first days of his priesthood to the day of his death. Now, when he was translated from Plymouth in 1855 to become coadjutor bishop, Mgr Talbot, Cardinal Wiseman, and the Pope had judged him to be a fit and proper person to succeed the Cardinal and to become Archbishop of Westminster; and yet in 1860 he is judged to be so unfit as to render it necessary to degrade him and to deprive him of his right to the succession; for not even his bitterest opponents dared to say that he had forfeited it by any canonical fault. What then, we may well ask, had happened in the brief interval between 1855 and 1860 to render him unfit to govern the diocese? That this unfitness was not recognized by those best able to form a correct judgement is clear from the fact that upon the death of Cardinal Wiseman in 1865, and in spite of the sentence of deprivation issued against him, the canons of Westminster again elected him for their bishop, and the united bishops of the Province presented him, together with Monsignor Clifford and Grant, as one worthy and fitted to occupy the vacant see of Westminster. And here we cannot refrain from quoting the indignant and impassioned words of Dr Errington himself. They were written with special

¹ It was Edinburgh, not Glasgow (see p. 271).

reference to the charges of being Gallican and anti-Roman, which had been brought against him by Monsignor Talbot, but they are equally applicable to other charges as well. They were addressed to the Commission of Cardinals appointed to investigate the case.

If I were required, he writes, to reply to extravagant charges of this nature, I should have every right to ask for proofs and exemplifications of the charges; I would say that my education, my studies in Rome, the life I have lived as a priest were always well known to the Archbishop (Wiseman) and to the Holy See. I would say that my principles, my respectful and loyal devotion to the Sovereign Pontiff were never belied during my episcopacy at Plymouth. I would say that His Eminence the Archbishop had known me from my infancy, that he had me for his assistant in the English College in Rome and in that of Oscott, and that (to speak of the coadjutorship of Westminster) it was he who invited me to it, it was he who proposed me for it. I would say that in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent and the practice of Rome, coadjutorships with the right of succession are not given except after a mature examination of the character of the coadjutor. I would say that by the rule that obtains in the election of bishops in England the coadjutor has to be and actually was approved by the English bishops. I would say that His Eminence the Cardinal and Monsignor Talbot even after the charges upon which was founded the petition for my deprivation had been brought against me, yet obtained from the Holy Father my translation to the see of Trinidad in America, a diocese of a hundred thousand souls, which needed, it was said, to be brought back to the 'true discipline of the Church'. Such being the case, the accusation is bereft of all probability, nay, there is no room left for giving the credit of persuasion and conviction to those who urged it, for it is impossible that a coadjutor who is a Gallican and anti-Roman should in good faith and for the benefit of the Church be proposed as archbishop of an extensive diocese in America.

The publication of the Papal decree terminated the career of Archbishop Errington as coadjutor with right of succession to Cardinal Wiseman. The history of the transactions leading to this result is a painful one and is calculated to produce the impression that it was brought about by the action, not to say the intrigues, of a party, and that the cause of

justice was sacrificed, we trust not consciously, to the promptings of personal regard and affection. Nor will this painful impression be removed, but will be rather intensified if we turn our attention to the events that followed.

It has already been said that there were three chief causes of disagreement between the Cardinal and his coadjutor. The first of these was the coadjutor's opposition to the Oblates of St Charles. And here it cannot be too carefully noted that his opposition was directed not to the establishment of the Oblates in themselves, but against the use the Cardinal was making of them, and primarily against his introducing them as professors and superiors at the diocesan seminary. Now what happened? In 1860 was issued the decree depriving the archbishop of his right of succession, and in 1861 the Oblates were, we believe by an order of Propaganda, removed from the seminary. The second cause of disagreement was the support given to the Chapter of Westminster in their quarrel with His Eminence. But the very root of the quarrel was the presence of the Oblates in the seminary, and this it was that caused the Chapter to petition the Cardinal that the deputies required by the Council of Trent might be appointed to inquire into the effects of their presence. Again, therefore, by the removal of the Oblates from the seminary, the reasons if not the conduct of the Chapter and the Archbishop in their action against the Cardinal received their justification. There remained the third cause of disagreement, which was the determined opposition shown by the Archbishop to the Cardinal in the Third Provincial Synod, held at Oscott in July 1859. At this Synod the main question presented to the Fathers for discussion and solution was the question of the government of the seminaries—that is, whether they were to be under the sole control of the bishop in whose diocese they were situated, or whether they should be under the joint control of all the bishops interested in them by having funds invested and students educated in them. The Cardinal warmly advocated the former view, whilst Archbishop Errington and the majority of the bishops were in favour of the latter. Accordingly a Synodal Decree was drawn up, embodying the decision of the majority, which as usual was

sent to Propaganda for approval. At first the Sacred Congregation seemed inclined to the opinion of the Cardinal, but on more mature consideration it gave its decision in favour of that of Dr Errington and the majority of the bishops. Thus were the three most prominent causes of disagreement between the Cardinal and his coadjutor eventually settled in favour of the latter.

Dr Errington has been blamed for not at once yielding to the strongly expressed wish of the Holy Father that he should resign his coadjutorship and renounce his right of succession to the see of Westminster, and has been accused of disloyalty to the Holy See. We should be slow to endorse the charge, unless indeed it can be maintained that loyalty to the Holy See requires that every Catholic should at once yield compliance with every wish of the reigning Pontiff, no matter what may be his personal character, no matter what representations or misrepresentations may have been made to him, no matter under what influences he may be acting, no matter how opposed to canon law nor how injurious to the general discipline and welfare of the Church his wishes may be. If these propositions can be maintained, then was Dr Errington to blame in the course he pursued. When, however, the Pontiff no longer confined himself to the expression of his personal wish, but spoke as Head of the Church and in the plenitude of his power, then did Dr Errington prove his loyalty and submit without a murmur and with a humility and completeness which will scarcely find its parallel except in the lives of God's canonized servants.

CHAPTER XI

ULLATHORNE AND NEWMAN (1859—1864)

THE relations between Bishop Ullathorne and Dr Newman during forty years were so intimate, and their friendship so close and so cordial, that Newman must hold a foremost place in any Life of Ullathorne. For the twenty years from 1859 until Leo XIII made him Cardinal in 1879, Newman, for all his gentle and retiring nature, was fated to be the storm-centre in English Catholic life; and during all this time Ullathorne, alike as his bishop and his friend, was the recognized go-between, to deal with him confidentially in behalf of the authorities at Westminster and at Rome.

As has been related in its place, Ullathorne met Newman for the first time on a visit he paid to the group of first Oxford converts at Maryvale, near Oscott, in 1846, just after his nomination as Vicar Apostolic, and at his personal invitation, in a letter there cited, Newman and his companions were present at his consecration at Coventry. Then when he came to Birmingham in 1848, his first relations with Newman were unpleasant, owing to the controversy over the 'Lives of Modern Saints', of which Ullathorne, like most of the old Catholics, disapproved, while Newman supported Faber, the promoter and editor of the series. The difficulty was easily composed, Newman eventually coming to acquiesce in the bishop's view, and saying so twenty years later, in the *Letter to Dr Pusey*. There can be no doubt that Ullathorne's frank and intimate letter on that occasion (cited p. 155) made a strong appeal to Newman, and laid the foundation of the friendship that grew up between them. During the next years they worked together harmoniously, Ullathorne supporting and encouraging all the phases and developments of Newman's work at the

Birmingham Oratory till its final settlement at Edgbaston, and the opening of the Oratory School. These years were the time of Newman's prolonged absences in Dublin over the work of starting the Catholic University of Ireland. They corresponded frequently, exchanging letters at the great festivals, sending one another their various publications and writing appreciative letters of thanks. It was when Newman finally withdrew from Ireland and settled in permanence at the Oratory at the end of 1858, that the closer relations with Ullathorne were formed, arising out of the *Rambler* controversy.

The story of the two Catholic periodicals, the *Rambler* and its successor, the *Home and Foreign Review*, is well told from the outside in Wilfrid Ward's works, *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, *Life of Wiseman*, and *Life of Newman*; but he who would understand the story from the inside will have to read also the series of letters from Sir John Acton to Richard Simpson, extending over their years of practically joint editorship, printed by Cardinal Gasquet in the volume *Lord Acton and his Circle*. The Cardinal's lengthy Introduction is probably the most judicious summing up of the case, as seen through the softening atmosphere of half a century.

In this place a brief note, just enough to make intelligible what follows, must suffice. In the year 1858 the English Catholics had two important periodicals. The *Dublin Review* was a quarterly, founded in 1836 by Daniel O'Connell and Wiseman; though called the 'Dublin', it was from the first edited and produced in London. It received its tone from Wiseman, and its early prestige was mainly due to his regular contributions on religious topics of all kinds, and especially to the series of controversial articles designed to help on the Tractarian Movement in its Romeward development, a design conspicuously successful in the cases of Newman himself, of W. G. Ward, and others, as they have placed on record.¹ Wiseman was proprietor and controlled the Review, but after 1845 his contributions became fewer and fewer, and finally almost ceased; and by 1858 the *Dublin*

¹ Wiseman's 'Dublin' articles of all kinds were reprinted in three volumes of *Essays*, 1853.

had grown ponderous, dull, and dreary, and was recognized as being almost moribund.

Not so the *Rambler*. Founded in 1848 as a monthly by a group of brilliant converts, it was owned and edited by laymen who claimed the right of considerable independence. Its avowed principles were to keep strictly within the limits of defined doctrine and Catholic Faith, but to exercise much freedom in the discussion of philosophical, scientific, political, and historical questions, as also in the criticism of the proceedings of the ecclesiastical authorities, from the Popes downwards, and so on occasion the *Rambler* did not hesitate to discuss and criticize the acts of the English bishops. It was in a way the organ of the converts, and it laid itself out to try to raise the level of things intellectual and educational existing among the English Catholics in the 'forties. It cannot be gainsaid that there was much truth in what the *Rambler* writers said; but the old Catholics felt it was said ungenerously and offensively, and in the *Dublin* of 1856 Wiseman himself broke a lance in their behalf, and also in protest against the setting up of parties among the Catholics.¹ In 1858 a change befell the *Rambler*; it became the property of Sir John Acton (afterwards Lord Acton), and Mr Richard Simpson, the sub-editor since 1856, became editor. Under the new management the ability and brilliancy of the *Rambler* were enhanced, and its independent line was accentuated. Acton was by birth of old Catholic stock; he was quite young, only twenty-four, and was afire with all the enthusiasm of youth for the ideas of the liberal school of Döllinger, still regarded as the great Catholic champion of Germany, whose favourite pupil he was. He was extremely able, and even at that age already extremely learned and keenly alive to religious and intellectual movements in Europe and America. He stood for the position that all questions of philosophy, politics, history, science, short of defined dogma, were legitimate objects of free investigation, and should be pursued to their issues irrespective of the results for Catholic apologetics and controversy. A Catholic periodical conducted on such lines was bound to get into trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, and all the more so as the writers,

¹ Summarized by Ward, *Wiseman*, II, 229-43.

especially Simpson, the editor, took an irrepressible delight in shocking everyday Catholic sentiment and in pin-pricking the bishops. Moreover the *Rambler* did not keep off the domain of theology pure and simple, and some of its incursions into this ground were looked on by many as unsound. As early as 1856 Ullathorne had uttered to Newman misgivings about the *Rambler*:¹

I feel anxious about the latitudinarian spirit manifested in the writings of Simpson in the *Rambler*. Truths, and beautiful truths, are mixed with grave errors, and there is a recklessness of speculation, unguarded by the checks of the trained theologian, in Simpson. I am told that Puseyites think there is a rampancy in many of the writings of the new Catholics. I say this the more freely, because your own writings do not come within the scope of these observations.

In spite of warnings, articles in the *Rambler* continued to cause uneasiness through their unguarded intrusions into the theological field, and complaints made their way to Rome. At last, at the end of 1858, things were brought to a head over a crisis regarding the Catholic elementary schools. A Royal Commission had been appointed, and the Catholic bishops had taken up an attitude of complete hostility to the Commission. A number of the leading Catholic laymen thought this attitude mistaken, dangerous, impossible; and their views were voiced in the January and February issues of the *Rambler*, 1859, by a most competent representative, Mr Nasmyth Stokes, a convert and one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, undoubtedly the principal authority on the subject in the Catholic body. The bishops were offended at this challenge of their action, and spoke of a public assertion of their authority in the forthcoming pastoral letters. But before so drastic a measure, they determined to see if it were possible to bring about a change in the tone of the *Rambler*. With this object Ullathorne was deputed to approach Newman, who was on friendly terms with the *Rambler* people. Newman's attitude must be briefly defined. He had great sympathy with the objects of the *Rambler*, and keen appreciation of the need of frank and able discussion of

¹ *Letters*, p. 78.

all questions of the day, such as was carried out with conspicuous ability by the *Rambler* writers; and for this very reason he deplored the more deeply that such valuable work should be marred by a certain levity and irresponsibility, and even by an uncatholic tone or 'smack', as he described it. The intellectual religious needs of the educated and cultured laity was at all times one of the great preoccupations of his life, and in their cause he waged a lifelong warfare.

I want a laity (he said in 1851) not arrogant, not rash in speech, not disputatious, but men who know their religion, who enter into it, who know just where they stand, who know what they hold, and what they do not, who know their creed so well that they can give an account of it, who know so much of history that they can defend it. I want an intelligent, well-instructed laity. I wish you to enlarge your knowledge, to cultivate your reason, to get an insight into the relation of truth to truth, to learn to view things as they are, to understand how faith and reason stand to each other, what are the bases of Catholicism, and where lie the main inconsistencies of the Protestant theory. In all times the laity have been the measure of the Catholic spirit.¹

And so he attached great importance to the maintenance of an independent organ of lay Catholic thought.

On February 16, 1859, Ullathorne wrote to him: ²

In London I met Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Errington, and Bishop Grant. After our business we talked about the *Rambler*. Our opinions were unanimous that something must be done. The point is to act with as much quietness and consideration as the case admits of. I mentioned my conversation with you, and your kind offer to write to the editor and Sir J. Acton. Cardinal Wiseman said it was like you, and that everything was always safe with you. We agreed I should ask you, if you thought well, to write. It is our opinion that nothing short of Mr Simpson's retiring from the editorship will satisfy, as he plainly cannot judge what is and what is not sound language.

Newman's intervention at once brought about Simpson's retirement, and the bishops withheld the pending denunciation of the *Rambler*. But the question now arose, What was

¹ *Present Position of Catholics in England*, Lecture ix, 4.

² *Wiseman*, II, 245.

to be done with the *Rambler*? There was a general sense that it was, substantially and apart from indiscretions attributable to Simpson, too valuable an asset of Catholicism to be allowed to lapse. But who should be the editor to pilot it into safe channels? The owners, Acton and Simpson, pressed Newman to undertake it himself; so apparently did Ullathorne;¹ Ward was delighted,² and Wiseman satisfied: indeed, he was prepared to suppress the *Dublin Review* so as to make way for the *Rambler* to become in Newman's hands the one Catholic quarterly. After a month of hesitation Newman, with forebodings and yet with hopefulness, yielded to the necessities of the situation and accepted the editorship.

A new series was commenced, the numbers to appear every two months, but to be of double content. Newman's first number was issued in May. It proved a disappointment. His note on the education question, intended to placate the bishops without repudiating the *Rambler* writers,³ did not effect its object, and points in the number called forth some criticisms from the theologians. The *Tablet* of May 21 reviewed it in an extremely able and soberly sympathetic article which is worth reproducing in summary, being a presentation of the *Rambler* problem as it appeared, a living issue, to the men of the time.

The article opens with a friendly and laudatory reference to Newman and to his courage and public spirit in undertaking so important, yet so difficult, a task. It thus poses the problem:

The problem which our great Oratorian has undertaken, as we imagine, to solve, is how to reconcile the largest amount of free discussion with a due homage to Catholic truth and Catholic principle, including, of course, in the latter term, a recognition of the just rights of ecclesiastical authority. Our periodical literature is looked upon by impartial persons as having latterly oscillated between narrowness of spirit on the one side, and a dangerous independence on the other. . . . The knot was at any rate *dignus vindice*, and we repeat that it was either soluble by Dr Newman, or not soluble at all.

¹ Ward, *Life of Newman*, I, 492.

² For the whole episode see *Wiseman*, II, 245-8; *Newman*, I, 486-92; *Lord Acton and his Circle*, pp. xlviii-liii.

³ *Newman*, I, 502, note.

The critic's own fear is that it is insoluble. He sets out, perhaps better than I have seen it elsewhere, the grounds of objection to the old *Rambler*:

What we suspect to have been the actual ground of mis-giving about the *Rambler* is not so much any isolated views which were identified with it (displeasing as these may have been), as its general tone and temper. It was felt, in one word, that there was an absence, or deficiency, of 'religiousness' about it. Things were habitually discussed in it in a cold, hard, and worldly spirit. The grand mistake made in its administration seems to us to have been that of forgetting that Catholicism is an atmosphere, and not a mere creed; that it is a medium which colours almost everything which comes before us, except pure mathematics. The intellectual state of a man who considers all ground open to free discussion which is not closed up by the rigid terms of the Faith, is somewhat analogous to the moral state of those invulnerable but most unsatisfactory Christians who go to confession once a year.

The reviewer gave utterance to grave fears at the plan whereby Newman sought to meet the exigencies of the problem, viz., to have a separate section of 'correspondence' for independent articles, for which the editor should not be responsible: in this the reviewer foresaw the danger of even greater licence for the expression of questionable views. One sentence in the correspondence pages he strongly animadverted on, and rightly. He objected to a Catholic publication being made 'the safety valve for intellectual crotchets'.

'On the other hand, it is difficult to comment in terms too high upon the editorial articles.'

In conclusion: To return to the main question which the *Rambler* is laudably committed to solve. We trust that the illustrious editor will not allow his indulgence to impair his authority. We trust (rather, we feel a well-grounded confidence) that no desire of playing up to the intellectualism of the day will ever change what promises to be our leading Catholic periodical, from the character of a sober and discreet guide, into that of a mere dashing adventurer.

On May 22 Ullathorne went to the Oratory to see Newman, and advised him to give up the editorship. The

following points are taken from Newman's account of the interview to a friend at the time :¹

I must not convey a wrong impression. Our bishop expressed his *wish*; it was not an act of authority. I have no intention of publishing to the world that it is his act. He said that he found there was a general impression that the old spirit was not clean gone out of the *Rambler*. He went on to ask whether I had seen the criticism on the *Rambler* in the *Tablet* of the day previous. He said it mainly expressed his sentiments. The Catholics of England were a peaceable people; the Church was peace. Catholics never had a doubt; it pained them to know things could be considered doubtful which they had ever implicitly believed. The *Rambler* was irritating.

I stated my own view strongly. I said I thought I saw a side of things the bishops and clergy did not see. It must be considered that England and Ireland were one country. The Irish laity must be considered as well as the English. Looking at the educated laity as a whole, and in prospect, I could not say I thought their state satisfactory.

[Another account :² The bishops did not see the state of the laity, e.g., in Ireland, how unsettled, yet how docile. He said something like, 'Who are the laity?' I answered (not in these *words*) that the Church would look foolish without them.]³

He did not allow the weight of anything I said. I then said that for no object of my own had I undertaken it. He said he knew it, and that everyone knew it; but he had conversed with various persons and they all agreed with him. I said that it had been an extreme annoyance to me to undertake it, and it would be an enormous relief to me if I did not. He answered that he had been surprised that I had taken it. Then he abruptly said: Why not give it up? I said how

¹ *Newman*, I, 496.

² *Ibid.*, p. 497, note. It is to be remembered he had just returned from spending considerable portions of six years in Ireland in the attempt to set up the Catholic University and had numerous warm friendships with leading Irish Catholic laymen.

³ At a later date in a letter to the bishop, Newman referred back to this part of the interview: 'Your Lordship told me three or four years ago that "the Church was peace and the Catholics of England were a peaceable body." You spoke, I considered, of the country gentlemen, and of your own generation; I, who took the opposite view, was thinking of active minds and the generation to come' (*Newman*, I, 553).

could I do so without giving it back to the proprietors? [Acton and Simpson]. I said this, thinking he would feel it a great objection to let it revert to them; but he answered quickly: 'No difficulty at all if you give them fair notice; if you give it up in July you will give them fair notice.'

I then promised him I would give up the *Rambler* after July. There was no sort of unpleasantness of any kind in our conversation from beginning to end.

It is impossible with the principles and feelings on which I have acted all through life that I could have acted otherwise. I never have resisted, nor can resist, the voice of a lawful superior speaking in his own province.

Since then he has written kindly, saying that he sees 'with pain and regret that I am overworking myself and straining the machine. No man can be ten men. Are you not consuming the fuel of years in months?' etc. Kind as this is, it means, I don't at all repent of what I have done, for 'divergent occupations', as he calls them, 'mixed together' have, or will have, 'results'.

Ullathorne's action in the matter is not easy to understand. Certainly the very last thing the *Tablet* reviewer would have desired was that Newman should give up the *Rambler* without having had a fair opportunity and full time for the experiment of making it into a high-class periodical on sound Catholic lines. It is possible that when the first enthusiasms of the venture had cooled down, the bishops realized that an independent organ backed by Newman's name and prestige might prove more embarrassing even than the old *Rambler*.

In the interview with Ullathorne will be noticed Newman's preoccupation, one of the abiding concerns of his life, for the intellectual needs of the educated and thinking laity in presence of modern thought, and living in the society of cultured non-Catholics.

He continued editor of the July number, and in it was the article on 'Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine', which was the cause of such great trouble and such prolonged annoyance to its author. It was a vindication of the place of the *Sensus fidelium* among the recognized sources of theology and doctrine, and a plea for giving it its due weight, as had been very fully done in the case of the definition of the Immaculate Conception, 1854. The article grew out of the appeal

to the bishops to hear leading Catholic laymen on the policy to be pursued in the crisis of the poor schools. The argument lay in an appeal to the history of the Arian controversy during the fifty years that followed Nicaea. During that time of confusion it was the body of the Faithful—the inferior clergy, the monks, the laity—who were the supporters of Athanasius and the defenders of the Nicene Faith, while bishops wavered and compromised by the hundred at council after council. At this crisis it was the *ecclesia discens* rather than the *ecclesia docens* that preserved the Catholic Faith. The article caused much fluttering in theological dovecots: the array of facts could not be controverted, but the line of argument was held to be tantamount to saying that the Magisterium of the Church had failed in so great an emergency, and Bishop Brown of Newport delated the article at Rome. Propaganda took up the case, and when at the end of the year Ullathorne was called to Rome over the affairs of the Church in Australia, Cardinal Barnabò took the opportunity of consulting him on the incriminated article. The following account of the interview was written by Ullathorne at Newman's request seven years later:¹

Cardinal Barnabò asked me if I would do nothing to help them through their difficulty. I asked what he wished me to do. He said that he wished me to bring the matter home to you. He produced the bishop's (Dr Brown's) letters, addressed in English to the secretary. I asked for the passages. He exhibited them marked in pencil; and, pointing to them with his pen, he said, 'Ce n'est pas Sanscrit,' whereby I understood him to mean that he perfectly understood the passages he was talking about. He added, 'Le Pape est beaucoup peiné.' I then at his earnest request undertook to bring the matter before your attention.

Cardinal Wiseman was then at the English College at Rome. I told him all that had passed, and spoke to him gravely about the annoyances to which from time to time you had been subjected. . . . Also (I went) into the question about your treatment in the question of the Bible translation, etc. At last the Cardinal burst into tears, and said, 'Tell Newman I will do anything I can for him.'

As soon as I returned to Birmingham I wrote to you and

¹ *Newman*, II, 171.

asked you if you could call on me, as I had a communication for you from Propaganda of some gravity. Father St John came in your stead, and told me you were ill in bed. I communicated the case to him, and no sooner had you heard it than you got out of bed and came up to me in a cab. You proposed, as I had repeated to Father St John what Cardinal Wiseman had said of his readiness to serve you, that you would write to him and put your readiness to comply with the requirements of Propaganda into his hands. You asked if this course would satisfy me. I said, 'Perfectly'. I then wrote to Cardinal Bärnabò and mentioned all that had passed, describing how you had got out of your sick-bed and come to me as soon as you had heard the case and the commission with which I was charged.

Wiseman in a letter to Manning refers to the episode :¹

The late *Rambler* articles have given great pain, and Dr Ullathorne is charged with a mission of peace to Dr Newman. If he wished he could write an article explaining them rightly. I have spoken as well and soothingly as possible.

The following was Ullathorne's letter to Newman on his return home, dated January 12, 1860 : 'Returned from Rome, whither I was called so suddenly, and whence I have come back so rapidly, I should like to have a talk with you; indeed, there is one subject on which I have special reasons for wishing to see you.'

In consultation with Ullathorne, Newman on January 17 submitted to him the following letter to Wiseman, then at Rome over the Errington case :²

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL: Our bishop tells me that my name has been mentioned at Rome in connection with an article in the *Rambler*, which has by an English bishop been formally brought before Propaganda as containing unsound doctrine. And our bishop says that Your Eminence has spoken so kindly about me as to encourage me to write to you on the subject.

I have not yet been asked from Propaganda whether I am the author of the article or otherwise responsible for it, and, though I am ready to answer the question when it is put to me,

¹ *Dublin Review*, January, 1923, p. 121.

² *Newman*, II, 171, note.

I do not consider it a duty to volunteer the information till Your Eminence advises it.

I will request, then, of Your Eminence's kindness three things:

1. The passages of the article on which the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda desires an explanation.

2. A copy of the translations in which His Eminence has read them.

3. The dogmatic propositions which they have been represented as infringing or otherwise impairing.

If Your Eminence does this for me, I will engage, with the blessing of God, in the course of a month from the receipt of the information:

1. To accept and profess *ex animo* in their fulness and integrity the dogmatic propositions implicated.

2. To explain the animus and argument of the writer of the article in strict accordance with those propositions.

3. To show that the English text and context of the article itself are absolutely consistent with them.

He recognized that the words in the *Rambler* 'certainly might have been better chosen, but they had really a right meaning, which I could have explained.'¹

The next day Ullathorne wrote: 'I thank you for the perusal of your letter to Cardinal Wiseman, which I return. I mentioned my interview with you, and the edification which, in its circumstances, it gave me, in a letter to Cardinal Barnabò, and in another to Cardinal Wiseman.'

In these letters he stated that the case had now passed into the hands of Cardinal Wiseman, who would, presumably, represent Newman with Propaganda after he had received the letter.² Unfortunately, and unaccountably, except on the score of Wiseman's rapidly failing health and inability to face troublesome matters, Newman's letter never got home: it was shown to Manning and Talbot, but not presented at Propaganda, and of course not to the Pope.³ This was all the more unaccountable and regrettable, in that Wiseman received, January 30, from the secretary of Propaganda, a schedule of the statements in the *Rambler* article to which objection was taken.⁴ The obvious thing would have been to communicate this list to Newman and give him the chance he

¹ *Newman*, II, 125.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 173, 179.

⁴ Westminster Archives.

asked for of offering explanations. But he heard nothing for several weeks, until, on May 7, he wrote to Ullathorne :

I have just heard from Dr Manning. His letter contains the following sentence, which I lose no time in transcribing and sending to you.

‘The Cardinal desires his kind regards to you, and tells me to say that he has thought it better to wait till his return, when he hopes to bring the matter of your letter to a termination which will be acceptable to you.’

I think you will wish, from your kind interest in me, to know how the matter proceeds.

Unhappily for Newman the matter proceeded no further at the time; he never had any other communication from Wiseman or Manning, and naturally concluded that the difficulty had been arranged with the authorities at Rome. But it had not—it had simply been allowed to drift; and a year later, June 1861, Cardinal Barnabò wrote to Ullathorne, reminding him how at the interview of January 1860, when Barnabò had spoken to him of the *Rambler* and certain things written in it by Newman *minus recte*, Ullathorne had taken on himself the task of calling Newman’s attention to them, and had given the assurance that Newman would take it in good part, and would make explanation and correction of what was said *haud satis recte*. But nothing had yet appeared, and it had been brought to Barnabò’s notice that recently other things had been printed in the *Rambler* most unbecoming in a Catholic paper. ‘Therefore I ask you to tell me if Fr Newman has complied with the promise, and what is your opinion about the recent things published in the *Rambler*.’¹ There is no indication how Ullathorne replied to Barnabò, or whether he communicated with Newman; but he used the occasion of his presence in Rome the following winter to try to smooth things over for Newman,² who wrote to him on January 12, 1862:³

I had begun a letter to you ten days ago, in the first place to thank you, as I do with all my heart, for your kindness towards me in setting things right as regards those rumours which have been propagated about me at Rome; and I was

¹ Oscott Archives.

² See *Newman*, I, 526.

³ Oratory.

going to express what I feel of the many occasions in which you have shown your sympathy in my troubles.

Again, on the 31st, he thanks him for what he had done to counteract the unfavourable reports about him at Rome; he adds, referring to the case between the bishops and Wiseman: 'I am glad your Lordship's anxious matter is progressing; it must be a great trial to yourself. It is a great sorrow to me that one of my dearest friends, Dr Manning, should be on the opposite side to your Lordship.'

In 1863 Newman gave to a friend the following account of the *Rambler* venture:¹

Immediately my Dublin engagement was over, at the Cardinal's and our Bishop's direct solicitation, I interposed in the *Rambler* matter, and found myself in consequence, to my surprise and disgust, compelled to take the editorship on myself. I not only made the best of it, but I really determined to make it my *work*. All those questions of the day which make so much noise now—Faith and Reason, Inspiration, etc., etc.—would have been, according to my ability, worked out or fairly opened. Of course I required elbow-room, but this was impossible. Our good Bishop, who has ever acted as a true friend, came after the publication of the first number, and advised me to give up the editorship. He said I had caused dissatisfaction. I only edited two numbers; but I wrote enough to cause one of our bishops formally to denounce one of my articles to Propaganda. What did Propaganda know of the niceties of the English language? Yet a message came (not a formal one) asking explanations. . . . As what was said to me was very indirect and required no answer, I kept silence, and the whole matter was hushed up. I suppose so, for I have heard no more of it, but I suppose it might (*pel bisogno*) be revived in time.

The affair had been so badly handled at the outset, that in spite of all Ullathorne's endeavours, the *Rambler* article continued to be a black mark against Newman, until, at long last, in 1867, his letter to Wiseman of January 1860 was laid before the authorities for the first time. It was recognized as having been a proper first step. Newman recovered the place in the estimation of the authorities which he had lost during these seven years of suspicion. The words objected to were pointed

¹ Newman, I, 587.

out to him, and he wrote a theological explanation which was accepted as satisfactory, and, along with the substantive portions of the article, is printed in subsequent editions of *The Arians of the Fourth Century*.

But the episode of the unrepresented letter of 1860 was not yet set at rest. It had in 1869 an unpleasant aftermath. Letters from Manning to Ullathorne of that winter¹ show that the statement was being circulated in an anonymous pamphlet attack on Manning that he had intercepted and suppressed the letter sent by Newman to Wiseman, which would have cleared him in respect to the *Rambler* article. Manning's explanation to Ullathorne was that 'the Cardinal fell ill almost at the time he received the letter, and so far as I remember I never heard him again speak of it.' In saying this he forgot his own letter of May 1860 (cited p. 319). The accusation that he had deliberately withheld the letter was wholly devoid of truth. The thing was but a piece of unfortunate bungling, for which Wiseman must take the principal blame, but neither Manning nor Talbot can be acquitted of a share in the responsibility.²

On Newman withdrawing from the editorship in July 1859, the *Rambler* fell back into the hands of the owners, Acton and Simpson. The former became head editor himself, and the latter an unofficial sub-editor. Newman at first tried to exert a restraining influence, urging them to keep off theology proper, and to avoid conflicts with the ecclesiastical authorities and all irritation of average Catholic opinion. His efforts proved unavailing, and he gradually and regretfully withdrew his concurrence and support, still sympathizing with the main objects of the editors, but disapproving more and more of the manner in which they conducted their work. And so the *Rambler* ran its course, giving much dissatisfaction to the bishops in England, and still more to the authorities in Rome. Cardinal Barnabò wrote again and again to Wiseman in 1861,

¹ *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 214; Purcell, pp. 342-6.

² The statement of a writer in the *Month* (March 1896, p. 421) that Fr Morris, Wiseman's secretary, had said that after his death he found Newman's letter among his papers, is no way counter to the presentation of the case here made. That Manning had seen the letter when he joined Wiseman in Rome, is made perfectly certain by his own letter to Newman in May 1860.

complaining of the lines on which it was running. At last, in May 1862, he sent a circular letter to the English bishops, setting forth the principal heads of teaching objected to—e.g., abstruse questions closely connected with the Faith are raised, and one of the principal writers often puts forward temerarious and scandalous propositions; the temporal authority of the Holy See is openly attacked, and the administration of the Pontifical States; it is said that Paul III, Paul IV, Pius V, preferred temporal emolument to the good of souls, and were the cause of England's loss of the Catholic Faith. Consequently the bishops are within three months in their pastoral letters to warn the Faithful against the danger of the *Rambler* and prohibit it. Demoralization among youthful laity and clergy is due to the influence of the *Rambler*.¹

In compliance with these instructions Wiseman and the bishops issued condemnations of the *Rambler* in their pastorals. Ullathorne was not content with this. We have seen that he had for a long time, since 1856, been unhappy about the tone and tendencies of the *Rambler*; and now, in October 1862, he issued to his clergy a letter on the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review* (40 pp.). It should be explained that while the condemnation was pending, the editors had suppressed the *Rambler* and resuscitated it as a quarterly under a new name. The *Letter* was a reasoned argumentative statement of the grounds of objection to the *Rambler*. It concentrated on two articles, 'Faith and Reason', which it declared to be inadequate as an expression of the Catholic idea of divine Faith, and denounced as leading to scepticism, rationalism and Pelagianism; it also fell foul of utterances in an article on Original Sin, and recites the points complained of by Cardinal Barnabò. The letter concludes: 'It is now my duty to write most painful, yet necessary, words, and to declare that in the *Rambler* there are contained propositions which are respectively subversive of the Faith, heretical, approaching to heresy, erroneous, derogatory to the teaching of the Church, and offensive to pious ears.'

Newman was from home and had not before him the articles on 'Faith and Reason'—indeed, had not ever read them. But he at once in a letter to Ward, October 24, expressed the

¹ Oscott Archives.

impression made on him by the bishop's *Letter*.¹ Contrasting it with Wiseman's denunciation, which 'made charges so vague as to leave no definite impression', he goes on: 'Dr Ullathorne, on the other hand, speaks with a manly distinctness. . . . This is speaking like a bishop, and the conductors of the *Review* are bound simply to repudiate the statements which convey these doctrines, if they are to be considered good Catholics, and are to have any interest taken in them.'

To Ullathorne himself he sent his adhesion on the same day:²

MY DEAR LORD: Your *Letter* to your clergy has been sent to me here. Every Catholic must, I am sure, be grateful to your Lordship for having, in so clear and direct a way, stated the grounds of the grave animadversions which you have felt it incumbent on you, by virtue of your sacred office, to make on the *Rambler* and *Home and Foreign Review*.

I hope I need not assure your Lordship that I concur with all my heart in your condemnation of the doctrines which you find in those publications, and of the articles containing them.

It follows that I must consider it, as I do, to be the simple duty of the writers of them, and of all concerned in them, first to repudiate the doctrines in question, and secondly to withdraw the statements in which they are conveyed.

I write to you, as one of your clergy, on the spur of the moment, what comes first into my mind without consulting anyone. If there is anything more which it would be a consolation for you to receive from me, I hope you will tell me.

I hope it is not wrong to say that your letter affects me altogether differently from that of His Eminence on the same subject.

The answer on the next day ran:³

MY DEAR DR NEWMAN: Amongst the letters I have received on the subject of my *Letter* to the clergy, none, nor all together, have given me so much gratification as the one you have so kindly written to me.

Not that your words tell me more than I knew of you before, but because it gives me the means of putting out the last spark of any mischief that idle people may have occasioned by the use of their idle tongues.

The essential part of your letter I shall take good care shall be seen by the authorities at Rome. I do not, of course, in-

¹ *Newman*, I, 547.

² *Ibid.*, 544.

³ *Ibid.*, 545.

tend to put it formally before them, but I will take care it will be read to them in a non-official way.

And I thank you both for strengthening me by expressing your adhesion to my *Letter*, and equally for furnishing, beyond intention, precisely such an expression of your sentiments as will enable me to confirm all that I have said at Rome.

Newman replied :¹ 'It is an extreme pleasure to me to receive the approbation of one who is not only my immediate ecclesiastical superior, but is in his own character so just and straightforward.'

Ullathorne's *Letter* met with general approval in Catholic circles, and he told Bishop Brown a few days afterwards that 'most of the ablest converts have written letters strongly expressing their adhesion and warmly speaking their gratitude.' Wiseman wrote :²

Your Lordship has rendered good service to the Catholics in England, thus opening the eyes of many to the unorthodox and unsound character of the principles and aims of this most dangerous publication.

Ullathorne wrote back :³

As I thought time of importance after the appearance of the *Review*, I had no time to consult with others more competent and practised in such subjects, and I therefore appreciate your Eminence's approval the more.

Among other gratifying letters I have received one from Dr Newman which cannot but please you, as it has pleased me.

[After examining several articles] I am now prepared to prove, should there be need for anything further, that the same writers have ignored and eliminated the external existence of material substance, and have laid all the premises of spiritualistic pantheism.⁴

Manning's impression of Newman's letter is worth recording. It occurs in a letter to Ullathorne, October 28 :⁵

I believe the *Rambler* School to be small, but it is highly mischievous. The Cardinal (Wiseman) has shown me the copy of Newman's letter, which I read with great thankfulness; not that I doubted what he would say, but I feared that he would not say it. He has a sort of sensitiveness about standing by friends even when in the wrong, which is very honourable to his generosity.

¹ Oratory.

² *Letters*, p. 122.

³ Westminster.

⁴ cf. *Letters*, p. 123.

⁵ *Dublin Review*, April 1920, p. 207.

Here we find truly expressed a leading trait in Newman's character, often a cause of trouble to him.

A letter of November 3 to Dr Brown of Newport, a much more highly trained theologian than Ullathorne, shows that Brown had written 'a general approbation', but had expressed the view that in some points the criticism was over-severe. Ullathorne assures his old master that he will be obliged for his 'freest remarks on any point wherein you think I have been overhard.'

In due time Simpson,¹ the writer of the incriminated articles, put out a pamphlet of forty pages replying to Ullathorne's strictures. He said the bishop had wholly misapprehended the scope of the articles on 'Faith and Reason' in treating them as an exposition of the Catholic doctrine of Faith, whereas they were a piece of apologetic, a manner of approaching a sceptic and inducing him to consider the act of faith by showing its reasonableness. Ullathorne had cited the words of the Catechism of the Council of Trent on Faith in contrast with Simpson's account. Simpson now declared that he accepted it from his heart, and did so when writing; but it would be futile to begin by pressing on an unbeliever the notion of Faith as a supernatural gift of God. Newman, on reading the reply, thought that the bishop 'misunderstands and has misrepresented Simpson.'² And after reading the documents, I am bound to say that I think Newman was right, and that Ullathorne had missed the point of Simpson's argument and misrepresented his meaning. But, as Newman put it, If Dr Ullathorne has misunderstood him, how much more will the average educated layman misunderstand him and be puzzled and unsettled by his words.³ Newman tried to make his position clear to Ullathorne by an interview and a further letter.

On the day after Christmas Day the bishop paid a visit at the Oratory to see Newman. Ward gives in full Newman's account of the interview;⁴ only a few points are extracted here :

He asked had I seen Simpson's pamphlet in answer to his own circular. It had very little in it that required an answer.

¹ In justice to Simpson, Cardinal Gasquet's sketch of his personality should be read, *Lord Acton and his Circle*, p. xliv.

² *Newman*, I, 550.

³ *Ibid.*, 559.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 552.

It was hastily written. He should notice what he said on Original Sin, because he was told that there was a party of divines, of much consideration, who sided with Simpson. The system was one of pantheism mixed up with the catechism, etc.; that Science was exalted against Religion; that an Hegelian transcendentalism was professed or implied; that political conscience is made at variance with moral. I said that doubtless such wild opinions as he mentioned should be answered, but the question was how *best to do it*. He assented, and seemed to take it. I think he soon began to say that Manning [not yet Archbishop] had proposed that the *Rambler* should be put on the Index, but that Cardinal Barnabò answered that this had never been done in the case of a periodical. The bishop himself had recommended Barnabò to leave the matter to the English episcopate, for Rome had enough to do without it; and, since no Englishman would yield without *reasons* given, in the authoritative censure *reasons* should be given. Accordingly he had given *reasons*, but though he gave *reasons*, it could not be expected that *he* should write long treatises. As to Original Sin, the passages in Simpson which he noticed had been distinctly pointed out to the bishops by Propaganda.

He got rather awkward, for I listened unsympathetically. He talked a great deal, very kindly; and went away excusing himself for teasing me with such matters.

Newman's letter was written a few days later. It is given in full by Ward,¹ but is too long to incorporate here; only the salient pieces are given:

No one can disapprove or dislike the tone and form of Mr Simpson's writings more than I do; but I should not be honest if I did not add that my chief concern at them has arisen from his having dealt so unworthily with questions which are real and great, and which demand, not only free discussion, but a grave and comprehensive treatment. I know, indeed, how difficult it is for a man to express, with whatever caution, his sense of the shallowness of the polemics with which we ordinarily meet the intellectual difficulties of the day, without being unjust to himself in his manner of doing so. I have ever, therefore, made allowances for Mr Simpson, while I was making (now for four years) continual protests against him, for a certain sympathy with his intentions has been at the root of my pain at his performances.

Your Lordship spoke out as a bishop, clearly, distinctly,

¹ Newman, I, 55a.

stating what it was you condemned and why, your grounds of condemnation being these: that it was opposed to definite recognized truth, and was coincident with definite condemned error. Upon so unequivocal an utterance as this it became me, of all men first, to set an example of submission. No good ever came of resisting the appointed pastors of the flock. . . . Judgement (p. 554) of my own I did not pretend to give, and could not give for this simple reason, that I had not read the writings which you condemned, and that because I had neither time nor taste for such tough reading. What I did give, and that freely, was my submission.

Ullathorne sent a long reply, January 1, 1863. Ward naturally gives only the paragraph most directly affecting Newman; but in a *Life of Ullathorne* the greater part of the letter is of sufficient interest to claim a place.

Let¹ me first wish you a happy year, and then thank you for your writing your mind to me with frankness. Putting aside for a moment all question of authority, or, rather, all relations of authority as existing between us, I do not think there is any substantial difference of opinion between us as to the subject of discussing philosophical and critical questions freely where we are left free to do so; in the spirit of the Church where the Church has spoken; always in due time and place as prudence requires.

Honestly, I was not aware that in my conversation with you I had left any impression as to what my thoughts were concerning your sentiments, or any of them. It was not my intention to say or imply anything, except my own thinking aloud, as one does with a friend in whom one has confidence. My mind was full of the subject, and it naturally came uppermost. Simpson's pamphlet had just come out, and I naturally asked if you had seen it. My only impression at the end of our conversation was that you had expressed no opinion on the subject of your own, and that your delicacy had inspired your silence, but that somehow you would have preferred the conversation had been on some other subject.

After this personal explanation, I will ask your indulgence whilst I say a few words on the subject of the writings in question, and will tell you why I think I ought to say more to the clergy than I have yet done respecting them.

I find that they sap the very foundations as well of faith as of human reason; and I know I have not put the evidence of

¹ Oratory.

this fact as clearly as it ought to be. Accustomed for a great part of my life to the study of philosophical systems, I find a great deal more in Mr Simpson's productions than appears on the surface. I find the root of his mind to be at one time Kantian, at another pantheistic. I need only refer to the eighteenth page of his recent pamphlet in confirmation of what I am saying. That exposition you will, I think, find leaves nothing but the God of Hegel; an impersonal deity or law in a world of phenomena is all he permits the understanding to see.¹

What I really understood to be the spirit of your letter to me on the occasion of my *Letter* to the clergy was that, whilst you adhere to the general decision, you gave no judgement of your own as to the subjects under consideration. You could not be supposed to do so, writing on the spur of the moment, without examining the articles commented upon, even if you had been so inclined. I observed the caution with which the letter was penned. But I did take your letter as evidence that you had no solidarity with the *Rambler* or *Review* of recent years. I knew that from other sources; but I was much rejoiced to have that evidence in my hands, because of the many reports everywhere spread that the writers claimed your sympathy and support.

Your reputation is very dear to me, as to all good Catholics. And I knew how many persons, both here and at Rome, were uneasy in consequence of the impressions which were industriously spread about, concerning a supposed sympathy on your part with the proceedings of Mr Simpson and others. Of course all this was going on in a way that you could not easily take hold of. When, then, I received your letter, I sent a copy to Mgr Talbot, requesting him to read it to the Pope in confirmation of what I had previously said to His Holiness and to Cardinal Barnabò. He wrote me back that he had done so, and that he was gratified in believing it would remove the remainder of whatever cloud might have been hanging about.

Newman wrote the next day:²

Pray excuse me for the trouble I have given you, and for the fidgetiness which has led me to it. However, on my side I can but feel satisfaction at having gained so considerate and

¹ We may have our doubts as to Ullathorne's full competence in the realms of modern philosophy. But the passage referred to does seem to show that Simpson was bitten with the system of Ontologism, then fashionable in many Catholic schools. He says that the conviction of the being of God is necessarily innate in the understanding.

² Oratory.

so instructive a letter from you, which has been a great relief to me. I will say no more, except to express my gratitude for the pains you have taken to let my letter to your Lordship be known at Rome, and I fully appreciate the advantage of its being your Lordship through whom it has gone there.

Even before the publication of Simpson's pamphlet Ullathorne had recognized the need of a more substantive treatment of the problems involved, and he took in hand at once the task of a fuller reply. Indeed, he had been preparing for it ever since the former *Letter*. He says that one of the bishops had written to him that educated laymen were 'pressing for something to be written, more than mere censure—a refutation of the arguments.'¹ And so at the end of January 1863 he put out a second Letter, *On Certain Methods of the 'Rambler' and the 'Home and Foreign Review'* (100 pp.). Considering the nature of the contents, the rapidity of composition was a remarkable effort. The weak point, I cannot but think, is that the pamphlet makes no reference to Simpson's reply, beyond the words, 'I find nothing that requires me to modify what I have already published.' To my mind, Simpson's explanation called for recognition, either confirmation or withdrawal of the strictures. In a letter Ullathorne characterized it as 'bitter'—not justly, I think. Warm it was, naturally, from one who valued his Catholic reputation; but not bitter. The remainder of the Letter deals with a number of the views put forward in the two periodicals, many of which can hardly escape the note of recklessness and even unsoundness. But most of the theories animadverted on were the creatures of a day, and no longer have any living interest. The following year the *Review* was ended by the editors, who recognized that the ideas it stood for were definitely disapproved of by the Holy See.²

That same year, 1864, was the year of Newman's *Apologia*. The story is well told by Wilfrid Ward. The *Apologia* was called forth by words of Charles Kingsley: 'Truth for its own sake has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Fr Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole

¹ *Letters*, p. 124.

² See Cardinal Gasquet's account of the end of the *Home and Foreign Review*, in *Lord Acton and his Circle*, p. lxxiv.

ought not to be.' It was an immediate and triumphant success, proving a most effective piece of apologetic, and winning for the Catholic Church with the Protestant public a recognition and consideration such as it had not received since the Reformation. The enthusiasm of the Catholic body at large was great, and the *Apologia* secured for its author a position and estimation among them which he had not enjoyed since the sermon on the 'Second Spring' in 1852. Ullathorne shared the general enthusiasm, and rejoiced in his friend's triumph. He had good reason to be pleased with the *Apologia*, for towards the end of Part VII, when bearing witness to the truthfulness and honesty of Catholic priests, Newman referred to him in these words: 'Did I wish to point out a straightforward Englishman, I should instance the bishop who has, to our great benefit, for so many years presided over this diocese.' The diocesan Synod was being held at Oscott when Part VII appeared, and the assembled Birmingham clergy presented to Newman an address of congratulation and thanks for his work. Ward preserves the account of an onlooker, one of the Oscott priests:¹

After the Synod we all gathered round the throne, and the Provost read the address. Dr Newman, who stood at the Bishop's right, stood out, and we gathered closer in around him and the steps of the throne to catch every syllable. . . . I never before heard a man's whole heart so plainly coming out in his words, and stamping every look and tone with reality and complete sincere sympathy with all around him. His tears were visible, and most of us confessed to crying when we came out.

The next day Ullathorne wrote his personal tribute in a letter which Newman printed as a Postscript to the original edition, introducing it with these graceful words: 'With his leave I transfer it to my own volume, as a very precious document, completing and recompensing, in a way most grateful to my feelings, the anxious work which has occupied me so fully for nearly ten weeks.'

The letter is a long one, yet a considerable portion of it must find a place here:²

¹ *Newman*, II, 35.

² Besides in the *Apologia*, it is printed in full in Ullathorne's *Letters*, p. 140.

MY DEAR DR NEWMAN: It was with warm gratification that, after the close of the Synod yesterday, I listened to the address presented to you by the clergy of the diocese, and to your impressive reply. But I should have been little satisfied with the part of the silent listener, except on the understanding with myself that I also might afterwards express to you my own sentiments in my own way.

We have now been personally acquainted, and much more than acquainted, for nineteen years, during more than sixteen of which we have stood in special relation of duty towards each other. This has been one of the singular blessings which God has given me amongst the cares of the episcopal office. What my feelings of respect, of confidence, and of affection have been towards you, you know well, nor should I think of expressing them in words. But there is one thing that has struck me in this day of explanation, which you could not, and would not, be disposed to do, and which no one could do so properly or so authentically as I could, and which it seems to me is not altogether uncalled for, if every kind of erroneous impression that some persons have entertained with no better evidence than conjecture is to be removed.

It is difficult to comprehend how in the face of facts the notion should ever have arisen that during your Catholic life you have been more occupied with your own thoughts than with the service of Religion and the work of the Church. If we take no other work into consideration beyond the written productions which your Catholic pen has given to the world, they are enough for the life's labour of another. [He enumerates them.] And, though last not least, the *Apologia*, which is destined to put many ill rumours to rest, and many unprofitable surmises; and yet all these productions represent but a portion of your labour, and that in the second half of your period of public life. These works have been written in the midst of labour and cares of another kind, and of which the world knows very little. I will specify four of these undertakings, each in a distinct character, and any one of which would have made a reputation for untiring energy in the practical order.

The first of these undertakings was the establishment of the Congregation of the Oratory of St Philip Neri—that great ornament and accession to the force of English Catholicity. Both the London and Birmingham Oratory must look to you as their Founder, and as the originator of their characteristic excellence; whilst that of Birmingham has never known any other presidency.

[The other three works were the Catholic University in

Ireland, the organization of the Oratory parish at Edgbaston, and the Oratory School.]

Surely, after reading this bare enumeration of work done, no man will venture to say that Dr Newman is leading a comparatively inactive life in the service of the Church.

To spare, my dear Dr Newman, any further pressure on those feelings with which I have already taken so large a liberty, I will only add one word more for my own satisfaction.

During our long intercourse there is only one subject on which, after the first experience, I have measured my words with some caution, and that has been where questions bearing on ecclesiastical duty have arisen. I found some little caution necessary, because you were always so prompt and ready to go even beyond the slightest intimation of my wish or desires.

That God may bless you with health, life, and all the spiritual good which you desire, you and your brethren of the Oratory, is the earnest prayer now and often of, my dear Dr Newman,

Your affectionate friend and faithful servant in Christ,

W. B. ULLATHORNE.

It is not doubtful that Ullathorne voiced the sentiments of the Catholic body at large, clerical and lay, towards the *Apologia* and its author, on whom poured in letters of thanks from all sides. But the Manning group, whose antagonism to Newman, to be explained later on, had by this date become definite and pronounced, did not share in the general enthusiasm, and was little pleased in the prestige it brought to Newman. Herbert Vaughan's summing up of the *Apologia* was this:¹

I have read it with a mixture of pain and pleasure. The egotism may be disgusting if it is venial. There are views put forward which I abhor, and which fill me with pain and suspicion. The pleasure is derived from the romance of a life most skilfully depicted, and from the satire and contempt which appeal to one's bad nature, unfortunately.

The 'egotism': Newman knew it. Sending one of the weekly parts to an old Tractarian friend, he said: 'It is not a history of the Movement, but of *me*. It is an egotistical matter from beginning to end, to prove that I did not act

¹ Snead-Cox, *Life of Vaughan*, I, 215.

dishonestly. You will see what a trial it is: in writing I kept bursting into tears.' And Fr Ryder, one of the Fathers of the Oratory, disciple and close friend of Newman, who watched the Father as he worked at his *Apologia*: 'The effort of writing the weekly parts was overpowering. On such occasions he wrote through the night, and he has been found with his head in his hands crying like a child over the, to him, well-nigh impossibly painful task of public confession.'¹ And this is the egotism that seemed 'disgusting' to Herbert Vaughan in 1864! Manning on his side impatiently characterized the enthusiasm of prominent Catholics over the *Apologia* as 'literally playing the fool in this Kingsley affair', and a year later he wrote, 'I know that Anglicans look on the *Apologia* as a plea for remaining as they are.'²

But Ward had in the *Dublin Review* an appreciative and generous article; the *Tablet* and *Weekly Register*, the two Catholic weeklies, were at that date entirely sympathetic with Newman; and addresses of congratulation and thanks came from the clergy of six of the principal Catholic dioceses, bearing the signatures of over 500 clergymen. These Newman printed in the second edition, giving as his reason:

The belief obtains extensively in the country at large that Catholics, and especially the priesthood, disavow the mode and form in which I am accustomed to teach the Catholic Faith, as if they were not generally recognized, but were something special and peculiar to myself; as if, whether for the purposes of controversy, or from the traditions of an earlier period of my life, I did not exhibit Catholicism pure and simple, as the bulk of its professors maintain it.

From these addresses may be singled out that of the Lancashire secular clergy, bearing nearly 200 signatures, of the dioceses of Liverpool and Salford, a body representative, if any be, of the general sentiments of the Catholics:

They thank you for coming forward as their champion. It was their battle more than your own which you fought. They know and feel how much pain it has caused you to bring so prominently forward your own life and motives; but they now congratulate you on the completeness of your triumph, as admitted alike by friend and enemy.

¹ *Newman*, II, 22 (note), 23.

² Purcell, pp. 206, 323.

CHAPTER XII

ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTING UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM (1857—1866)

DURING Cardinal Wiseman's closing years of failing health and powers, and consequent inability any more to act as leader of the Catholic Church in England, it fell to Ullathorne to be spokesman of the bishops and the Catholic body; and so, towards the end of the year 1864, he was called on to be the Catholic protagonist in an external controversy waged round the 'Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom'—called the A.P.U.C. This was the earliest of the Reunion movements in the English Church after the Oxford Movement had spread its influence through wide circles; and as such hankerings after the ideal of Unity have been asserting themselves again and again ever since in the High Church circles of the English Church, the story of the A.P.U.C. has to this day a living interest, and deserves to be told here as the story of the first and most noteworthy of such Reunion movements, wherein certainly the high-water mark was reached. I do not think it has ever been written as a whole: the fullest account is that by the late Edwin de Lisle in ch. xv of his father's *Life*;¹ the initial and the closing stages are related respectively by Ward in the *Life of Wiseman* and Purcell in that of Manning; the principal documents are given by Ullathorne in the two *Letters to be spoken of just now*.

The principal workers were, on the Anglican side, the well-known George Frederick Lee, and on the Catholic, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, then Lisle Phillipps. The latter was a unique figure among the Catholics. Born of an old county

¹ *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*. This *Life* was by E. S. Purcell, Manning's biographer, 'edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle'. The Preface shows that ch. xv is by de Lisle.

family of Leicestershire, a convert before the Oxford Movement, he was in the 'forties and 'fifties, next to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the leading layman among the English Catholics. Of unextinguishable faith, optimistic hope, and zealous charity in the service of God and in the promotion of good works—these included the founding on his estate of a monastery of Trappist monks—he was fired with the desire, and the expectation, of the restoration of England to Catholic Unity, and of the complete Reunion of Christendom. And so he followed the course of the Oxford Movement with keenest interest, in 1840 and 1841 corresponding with the leading Tractarians, visiting them at Oxford, and bringing some of the younger and more ardent spirits to Oscott, to meet Wiseman, then President. Among the English Catholics he found the most kindred spirit in Wiseman, his fast friend, who shared in a more guarded way his enthusiastic hopes. Wiseman had, indeed, in 1841 issued a printed *Letter on Catholic Unity* (40 pp.) to Lord Shrewsbury, the leader of the Catholic laity, which Mr Ward characterizes as 'an appeal to the British Ministry, to the Established Church, and to English Catholics, to consider the question of Reunion with Rome.'¹ The following extracts, supplementary to those given by Ward, will display the mind of the *Letter*:

The idea of all England's being, in religion, one, is incompatible with her remaining separated from the religious communion of the rest of the world. We Catholics must necessarily deplore the separation, as a deep moral evil, as a state of schism of which nothing can justify the continuance. Many members of the Anglican Church view it in the same light as to the first point—its sad evil; though they excuse their individual position in it as an unavoidable misfortune. Many of us, therefore, are in accordance thus far, that the sooner an end can be put to the present painful position of the Anglican Church, with relation to the rest of the world, the better; and we may depend upon a willing, an able, and a most zealous co-operation with any effort which we may make towards bringing her into her rightful position in Catholic unity with the Holy See and the churches of its obedience—in other words, with the Church Catholic. Is

¹ *Wiseman*, I, 398; in pp. 400-6 Ward gives a précis of the *Letter*.

this a visionary idea? Is it merely the expression of a strong desire? I know that many will so judge it. But I will, in simplicity of heart, cling to hopefulness, cheered, as I feel it, by so many promising appearances (p. 11). [He rehearses the signs of the times as he saw them in 1841, and goes on:] Such are some of the many public manifestations of a sincere yearning after Catholic Unity, from influential men in the Church of England. I need not ask you whether they ought to be met with any other feeling than sympathy, kindness, and offers of hearty co-operation. Ought we to sit down coldly, while such sentiments are breathed in our hearing, and rise not up to bid the mourner have hope? . . . If one *must* err, if in mere tribute to humanity one must needs make a false step, one's fall will be more easy when on the side of two theological virtues, than when on the cold bare earth of human prudence. If I shall have been both too hopeful in my motives and too charitable in my dealings, I will take my chance of smiles at my simplicity, both on earth and in heaven. Those of the latter at least are never scornful (p. 20). He concludes: That the return of this country (through its Established Church) to the Catholic Unity would put an end to religious dissent and interior feud, I feel no doubt. [He sketches how he believes even Dissent could be Catholicized—a striking passage, reproduced by Ward.] In one point I trust that none (however he may have differed with me so far) will refuse to join me—in daily and fervent supplication to the God of peace, that He will deign to direct our hearts, and conduct them towards the accomplishment of this noble end (p. 40).

In '45 and '46 came the first great wave of conversions, and Wiseman and de Lisle thought they saw their hopes being visibly fulfilled; there was a lull; and then in '50 and '51, after the Gorham Judgement, came the second lesser wave, and again hopes were raised high. Then came another longer lull; and in 1857 the same ideas and longings found vent, in modified shape, in the A.P.U.C. The first sign was the appearance in December 1856 of the first number of the *Union Review*, an Anglican periodical, whose programme is thus described by Wiseman in a Report the next year to Propaganda:¹

It inculcated the necessity of a 'union' with the Holy See and the Universal Church. It did not confine itself to

¹ *Wiseman*, II, 479.

vague and general ideas, but went on by degrees down to the minutest details. The use of confession and of extreme unction; the sacramental character of matrimony, of confirmation, and of orders; the abstinences of the Church; the worship of the Saints, and especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the daily celebration of the Lord's Supper, under the names of 'Divine Mystery', 'The Sacrifice', and even 'Mass'; vestments, Sign of the Cross, genuflexions: such were the points on which the editors of the new journal delighted to instruct and exhort their readers. And the latter on their part urged them on, and encouraged them by letters and questions to still stronger declarations.

But the essential and fundamental point, on which they insisted with greatest stress, was that none of them—and consequently none of us—ought to contemplate the conversion of individuals, but only the reconciliation of all their Church (as they express it) with the Roman and Catholic Church. Hence they insisted that the former—in spite of its many shortcomings—had always had validity of Orders and of Sacraments; and that sufficiency of spiritual means and salvation for the soul could always be found in it. Accordingly they treated ecclesiastical unity—that is to say, union with the Holy See—not as a matter of absolute necessity, but rather of greater utility, as perhaps the only practical means of bringing about what they so earnestly desired. They refused to consider it as of divine appointment. He adds: All England was amazed at the unexampled boldness of publishing such propositions as these.

De Lisle, who had been advocating corporate reunion since 1841, was an enthusiastic supporter of the *Union Review*, and a contributor to the early numbers, and a letter of his to the editor, of March 1857, is printed in the *Life*.¹ 'Let me say that I have read with delight the little specimens you sent me of your own pious zeal and of that of others for the restoration of Catholic doctrine; but, indeed, my table is *loaded* with the consoling evidences of the movement.' He published at the same time a pamphlet *On the Future Unity of Christendom* (70 pages). In May of the same year de Lisle wrote to Cardinal Barnabò, Prefect of Propaganda, a confidential letter, begging him to lay it before the Holy Father:²

¹ *De Lisle*, I, 358.

² *Ibid.*, I, 375; the letter is translated out of the Latin by Edwin de Lisle.

After the proper preamble it goes on to announce that 'there is at this moment a large party in the Established Church of this Realm, who have conceived the idea of reuniting their national Church with the holy Mother Catholic, and of placing the same under canonical obedience to the authority of the holy Apostolic See.' They have begged him 'to open and reveal to your Eminence the matter, in order to its being made known to His Holiness the Pope, and if it be lawful, to beg of him in all humility his Apostolic blessing upon the matter taken up and already begun.' 'This Party, therefore, wish to show your Eminence their sincere desire to reconcile as soon as possible their own Church with the Holy See. But so great an undertaking cannot be carried through all at once.' 'The Party which has taken up the matter numbers 2,000 priests and ten bishops joined together' [the bishops are named, six in England, four in Scotland]; the 2,000 priests include archdeacons, deans, and canons, rectors of collegiate churches; besides 'a very large body of the richest and noblest families of the Realm', and ex-ministers of the Crown; 'they have made it known to me that they wish the business begun to succeed.' 'Accordingly this Party of the Anglican Church humbly desires ecclesiastical reunion of the National Church of the whole British Empire with the holy Catholic Mother, by embracing without any ambiguity all the articles defined in the sacred Council of Trent, and the whole Orthodox Faith, also the latest definition of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, the holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God; and by submitting their Church to the divine authority of the holy Apostolic See, with all affection of the heart and most faithful canonical obedience.' But His Eminence will understand that this Party in the National Anglican Church, being as yet a minority, 'can for the present do no more than, with all prudence but zeal, dispose the people to take up so grand an object in the future. But men of great prudence believe, not without reason, that in a few years the movement now commenced may be brought to a happy issue.' Therefore they 'desire with their whole heart and soul some word of encouragement from our most holy Lord the Supreme Pontiff, that all things may turn out well,' and 'dare to hope that His Holiness will deign to look favourably upon the movement which has begun in the Anglican Church for the rooting up of schism and heresy, and for the happy union of all Christians under the pastoral staff of our most holy Father, the successor of St Peter and Supreme Vicar on earth of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The letter ended with an outburst of the

writer's own enthusiasm: 'I believe and hope in the Lord that the aurora of the conversion of the whole of England has begun to flash above the horizon, and that not many years will pass ere my country shall happily return to Catholic Unity. O sweet thought, O hope full of consolation to all Catholics!'

A communication so unlooked-for and so arresting naturally impressed Cardinal Barnabò, who answered without delay:¹

The subject brought to my notice by your letter has given me the deepest consolation. For nothing could be better, or more in accordance with my prayers as Prefect of this sacred Congregation, than the accomplishment of the designs which your letter declares to be of not insuperable difficulty. And this matter, which I at once commend in my prayers to the omnipotent God, I shall be most happy to place before our most holy Lord Pope Pius IX on his return to Rome, so that what is already a subject of hope may soon be brought to a happy issue for the glory of God and the eternal salvation of souls. Moreover, I return my thanks over and over again, and I shall pray for all things to turn out favourably according to our wishes.

On the strength of this letter the leaders of the Reunion movement met in London on July 4, 1857, and pledged themselves to a series of resolutions, which de Lisle was to bring to the knowledge of the Holy See. Among them were:²

They determined never to rest until they have done everything possible to reunite the two Churches, and restore the authority of the Holy See in England, and they expressed the hope that after the lapse of some years the plan will become feasible. They resolved that a statement on the question of Anglican Orders be drawn up and submitted to the Pope for his supreme and authoritative judgement; they proposed to organize a body of preachers to propagate the idea of the reunion of all dissident churches with the Holy See, and to establish a society or association of prayer to promote this object.

De Lisle duly transmitted these resolutions to Barnabò, with a covering letter expressing the joy and hope that his

¹ *De Lisle*, I, 378.

² *Ibid.*, 379.

letter had inspired, in that it seemed to indicate sympathy and encouragement and a desire for a *rapprochement* between the Roman authorities and representative men of a considerable party in the English Church. Barnabò's reply came towards the end of August. It was in another tone. On receipt of the first letter he had written to Wiseman for information, and Wiseman had sent a lengthy report, given in full by Ward,¹ which should be read by anyone interested in the affair. Wiseman, in the first place, brought the thing down from the clouds to the domain of realities, and showed that the picture as drawn by de Lisle was the dream of an enthusiast. The first and principal of his 'ten bishops' was the Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, who at the very time was distinguishing himself in an anti-Roman campaign. The list of the ten bishops 'was the most complete illusion in the world.'

He next set forth what he had at an interview pointed out to de Lisle himself as two unsound positions in his tract and in his contributions to the *Union Review*: the idea that Anglicans should not be encouraged to come into the Catholic Church individually, but should remain in the English Church to work for corporate reunion; and the manner in which he spoke of 'the three great denominations of Christians—Catholics, Greeks, and Anglicans', as though they were all equal, and could treat of religious union upon a footing of equality, as 'the separated portions of the Church.' De Lisle, indeed, denied that either position was what his words meant; but he had been so understood universally by Anglicans and Catholics alike. Wiseman advised that there was no need for any action in the matter on the part of the Holy See; he only uttered a warning against colour being given to the idea that the Pope approved of Anglicans remaining in the English Church.

Wiseman's characterization of de Lisle as a visionary, whose optimisms were out of all touch with realities, will be borne out by the following extracts from the last pages of his pamphlet:

My own conviction is that a preliminary meeting of divines of the three great communions would probably lead

¹ *Wiseman*, II, 479-88.

to what might end in the calling of an oecumenical Council. Should the Christian Princes agree with our Holy Father the Pope, that a General Council might be summoned for the restoration of religious unity, how glorious would be the result! Never was there a period in the history of Christendom more favourable for the successful issue of such an enterprise. What weighty subjects would be discussed! The predictions of prophets, the visions of poets, and the unceasing cry of suffering humanity would at last be realized and redressed. Doubt and discord would disappear, faith would triumph over error; the arts and sciences would attain a perfection we can hardly imagine. . . . To this sublime state of things I firmly believe that God's good Providence is conducting the whole human race. Let no man say that it is visionary to anticipate such a result.

De Lisle had sent to Barnabò copies of his pamphlet, but they had not yet arrived when Barnabò answered the previous letter. Barnabò said that when the pamphlet came he would have it translated, that he might examine it carefully. He laid before de Lisle the points objected to by Wiseman; and he concluded:¹

If the report sent to me be untrue or the result of a misunderstanding of your essay, and if the Union of the Anglicans with the Roman Church be intended in this sense, that they, laying aside all error and schism, are willing to embrace in sincerity Catholic doctrine and to submit to the Pope as the Vicar of Christ and Supreme Head of the Church, the Holy See will welcome with open arms the Anglicans, either collectively or singly.

De Lisle immediately wrote a long and spirited, and, I must say, to my mind successful explanation and defence of the impugned passages of his pamphlet, and this seems to have been Barnabò's impression too, for he wrote that he 'had read the letter through with pleasure.' De Lisle had said, 'If your Eminence wishes me to abandon the work I have begun, one word will suffice.' That word was not spoken—at least, at the time.²

Meantime the 'Association for Promoting the Unity of

¹ Paper of de Lisle's on 'Corporate Reunion' in volume of *Essays on Reunion*, edited by G. F. Lee, 1867, p. 236.

² *De Lisle*, I, 381, 385.

Christendom' was set up. Its initiation is described by F. G. Lee:¹

On September 8, 1857, certain Roman Catholics, Greeks, and Anglicans met in the Parish of St Clement Danes, Strand, having that morning previously, at their respective altars, asked God's blessing on their contemplated plans, and after duly arranging its organization, and drawing up a manifesto of the Association, thirty-four persons formally enrolled themselves members. A dignitary of the Scottish Episcopal Church was in the chair. The following resolution was moved by a distinguished Roman Catholic layman, seconded by a well-known clergyman of the Church of England, supported by members of the Greek Church and others, and was unanimously adopted:

'That a Society, to be called the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, be now formed, for united prayer that Visible Unity may be restored to Christendom; and that the paper, now before this meeting, be sanctioned, printed, and circulated as the basis upon which this Society desires to act.'

The paper or manifesto ran:

An Association has been formed to unite in a bond of intercessory prayer members both of the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Anglican Communion. It is hoped and believed that many, however widely separated at present in their religious convictions, who deplore the grievous scandal to unbelievers, and the hindrance to the promotion of truth and holiness among Christians, caused by the unhappy divisions existing among those who profess to have 'One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism', will recognize the consequent duty of joining their intercession to the Redeemer's dying prayer, 'that they all may be One, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.' To all then, who, while they lament the divisions among Christians, look forward to their healing, mainly by a Corporate Reunion of those three great bodies which claim for themselves the inheritance of the priesthood and the name of Catholic, appeal is made. They are not asked to compromise any principles which they rightly or wrongly hold dear. They are simply asked to unite for the promotion of a high and holy end, in reliance on the promise of our Divine Lord, that 'whatsoever we shall ask in prayer, believ-

¹ This document is printed in Ullathorne's *Letter* of 1864.

ing, we shall receive.' The daily use of a short form of prayer, together with one 'Our Father', for the intention of the Association, is the only obligation incurred by those who join it; to which is added, in the case of priests, the offering, at least once in three months, of the Holy Sacrifice, for the same intention.

The Form of Prayer was taken from the Roman Mass, just before the Communion :

O Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst unto Thine Apostles, 'My Peace I leave with you, My Peace I give unto you,' regard not my sins, but the faith of Thy Church, and grant Her that Peace and Unity which is agreeable to Thy Will, Who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen. Our Father, etc.

A note was added : In joining the Association, no one is understood as thereby expressing an opinion on any matter which may be deemed a point of controversy, or on any religious question, except that the object of the Association is desirable.

De Lisle had, of course, sent his pamphlet to Newman, and there was a brisk interchange of letters between them throughout July 1857, whereof Newman's are printed in the *Life of de Lisle*. Newman felt certain hesitations, akin to Wiseman's :¹

The subject is of all others the most interesting to an English Catholic, and you have treated it with that gentleness and affectionateness which it not only requires, but which it gains from you on all occasions. You know enough of my feelings on the whole subject to know that there are some things in it in which I am afraid to follow you; but I earnestly pray that those consequences will in no respect appear in fact, which seem to me so legitimate and so likely. I mean, that the tendency of a portion of your pamphlet is, far indeed from your intention, to persuade individual Anglicans to wait out of communion with the Catholic Church, till they can come over with others in a body. There is such an extreme difficulty in rousing the mind to the real necessity of leaving the position into which men have grown up, that they will easily avail themselves of any the slightest excuse—and even a hint from a person so deeply respected as yourself, so beloved, yourself too a convert, is more than sufficient to turn the scale, when the mind is in suspense. And then suppose, if these very dear

¹ *De Lisle*, I, 367.

and precious souls, say Dr Pusey, are taken away in this state, when grace has been offered them, and they have not followed it up.

I think it is for the *interest* of Catholicism that individuals should not join us, but should remain to leaven the mass—I mean that they will do more for us by remaining where they are than by coming over; but then they have individual souls, and with what heart can I do anything to induce them to preach to others, if they themselves thereby become castaways? The effect [of a certain passage] I really think is to imply that, since there is a prospect now of the nation, or the Church Establishment of England being reclaimed, therefore individuals are not called upon by the Catholic Church to come over to her at once.

Do not suppose me to be blind to the most happy effect which a composition written in so Christian a spirit, that is, with such tenderness and consideration for those whom it principally addresses, must have in opening their minds to give a patient hearing to the all-important subject to which they are invited.

At a later date, 1866, Newman wrote another longer letter to de Lisle, given by Ward, setting forth the reasons why the idea of corporate reunion seemed to him Utopian.¹ In it he says:

Nothing is impossible to God, and the more we ask of Him the more we gain. But to me the question is whether the conversion of that corporate body, which we call the Anglican Church, would not be a miracle—in the same sense in which it would be a miracle for the Thames to change its course, and run into the sea at the Wash instead of the Nore. . . . To make that actual and visible tangible body Catholic would be to make a new creature.

Having made his aforesaid report to Propaganda, and his representations to de Lisle himself, Wiseman, as Ward says, ‘appears to have left the matter alone. He made no objection to Catholics joining the Association. He frequently corresponded with de Lisle, and although never departing from the limitations set down in his memorandum, he was sympathetic in his intercourse with its Anglican members.’²

So the A.P.U.C. went on, ever gathering force. The Manifesto (given above) was translated into Latin, French,

¹ *Newman*, II, 115.

² *Wiseman*, II, 488. See G. F. Lee’s letter, cited *ibid.*, p. 489.

Italian and Greek, and 40,000 copies were circulated broadcast by numerous local secretaries at home and abroad. So it came about that in 1864 it numbered some 8,000 members, 1,000 being of the Roman Communion, 300 Orthodox Greeks, and the rest Anglicans. A large proportion of the Catholic members were recruited abroad, but several were English, of whom, next to de Lisle, the most prominent was Fr Lockhart, an Oxford convert of '43, son of Sir Walter Scott's friend and biographer, and the leading English member of the Rosminians or Fathers of Charity. It was claimed that Pius IX had given his blessing to the scheme when first started, and had more recently repeated that blessing with a direct and kindly commendation to one of the English secretaries at a special audience. The Pope's attitude is of interest, and is explained in a statement in the *Weekly Register*, November 19 and 26, 1864, made by one of the secretaries of the A.P.U.C., and unchallenged.

He said that at the beginning Pio Nono had given his blessing to the movement, along with a kindly commendation in the words, 'mio interno sentimento volontario.' What was presented to the Pope, and what he blessed, was the form of prayer of the Association: neither the Branch Theory, nor any recognition of the Anglican Church was laid before the Pope in any shape. He was especially impressed by the fact that members of the Greek Church were taking part in the Association. Of Mgr Talbot the secretary makes special mention: 'I shall not easily forget the zeal he evinced during that interview in urging the claims of the A.P.U.C. on the Holy Father.'

From the first the *Rambler* (August 1857) had trenchantly criticized de Lisle's pamphlet and the whole movement as chimerical and illusive, and open to the sort of objections that Wiseman had felt. Still the A.P.U.C. went on without let or hindrance until the close of 1863. But gradually the *Union Review* changed character and tone, advocating more definitely the Branch Theory, and assuming a hostile attitude to the English Catholics.¹ It even admitted communications

¹ Such passages as the following appeared during 1863:

The English Catholics are characterized as 'a distinct, isolated, Italian Mission, disconnected from the traditions of their country, and fast lapsing into a bitter, uninfluential, and disappointing sect.'

Again: The day may yet come when a more Catholic ground may be

from certain disgruntled Catholic priests in conflict with their bishops, one of whom (January 1864) openly said that he looked to Reunion as a means of bringing about a relaxation in the law of clerical celibacy. De Lisle remonstrated with the editor, but without avail.¹ Many Catholics held that the Association was having the practical effect foreseen by Wiseman and Newman, of making Catholically minded Anglicans remain in the English Church. Among those who took this view were, it is agreed by Wilfrid Ward and Edwin de Lisle, Manning, Faber, and Ward. At the bishops' Low Week meeting of 1864 the matter of the A.P.U.C. and the advisability of Catholics belonging to it was considered, and finally it was proposed by Wiseman and agreed unanimously, that Ullathorne should lay the whole affair before the Holy See, and in the name of the English bishops ask for instructions as to how they should comport themselves towards Catholics who joined the Association. He put in at Propaganda the official documents of the Association along with an explanation and some numbers of the *Union Review*, and received the notification that the case had been submitted to the Holy Office.²

In September came the Decree of the Inquisition prohibiting for Catholics membership in the A.P.U.C. The Latin and a translation are given at the end of Ullathorne's *Letter*, to be spoken of just now.³ The decree thus describes the principles of the Association:

The three Christian Communions, viz., the Roman Catholic, the Greek Schismatic, and the Anglican, however separate and divided from each other, have an equal title to claim for themselves the name of Catholic, and the intention of the prayers is that these three Christian Communions, being those which, as it is supposed, already constitute the Church Catholic, may some time or other come together in

taken by our Roman brethren in this country; then, and only then, will the hope revive that the stray children who have so long mistaken their allegiance will be gathered again into communion with the English Church, and an alien Mission subject to Rome give place to a National Church in communion with her.

¹ *De Lisle*, I, 415.

² Ullathorne, second *Letter*, p. 5.

³ The decree may also be found in Manning's *Pastoral on Reunion*, 1866, and in *De Lisle*, I, 386.



x *William Clifford*

WILLIAM CLIFFORD
Bishop of Clifton

corporate union . . . [later] as integral bodies, each of them still persisting in its own persuasion.

The decree declares that this fundamental principle is of such a nature as utterly to subvert the divine constitution of the Church; and therefore for Catholics to pray for Christian Unity according to an intention thoroughly defiled and infected with heresy, is a thing by no means to be tolerated.

The Catholic Church is one by a unity conspicuous and perfect, embracing the whole earth and all nations, by that unity of which the principle, the root, and the indefectible source is the supreme authority and the more exalted principedom of St Peter and his successors in the Roman See. And no other body is the Catholic Church, save and except that which was built upon one, namely, upon Peter, and rises up into one body compacted and fitly joined together in unity of faith and charity.

On receipt of the decree Ullathorne lost no time in issuing to his clergy a *Letter* (50 pp.) in explanation of it, with the decree appended in Latin and English. His first concern was to show that Rome, and especially the Pope, did not now condemn what had previously been blessed: his assertion that the Pope had blessed not the Association itself but individual members, was borne out by the one who had had the audience—what the Pope gave his blessing to was the form of prayer for Unity. The body of the *Letter* was a clear and forcible statement of the Catholic doctrine on the Unity of the Church, based mostly on Cyprian and Augustine, followed by a demonstration how the ideas of the Association, as revealed in its documents and literature, offended against this idea of Unity.

To the members of the Association the decree came as a crushing blow, and above all to de Lisle, to whom it was the breaking of the master-idea of his life. He wrote to Bishop Clifford, Mrs de Lisle's cousin, who had been one of the Catholic prelates claimed as a well-wisher of the A.P.U.C. His answer is perhaps the clearest exposition of the standpoint of Rome, coming from a Catholic theologian, soundly orthodox, but of liberal tendency:¹

¹ *De Lisle*, I, 402.

The letter of the Holy Office has been issued (I believe) on account of what appears to me a new phase in the working of the Association. When first I heard of the Association through you some years ago I understood its object to be to get people to pray for Unity, without any view being expressed by the Association as to how this end was to be attained. So that Catholics prayed for Unity in the only way in which they could pray, viz., that those who were not united to the centre of Unity might become united. Father Ignatius Spencer used to engage all persons, Catholics and Protestants, to pray for a similar object in this manner. But of late it cannot be denied that the theory of there being three Christian Communions, the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican, all three branches of the true Church, but all more or less in error as regards minor points, has become one of the most prominent of the doctrines advocated by the Association. I do not say that all hold it, but by far the greater portion do, and hence the opinion was gaining ground that Catholics who were members of the Association held this view to be true, or at least tenable. The Church could not but condemn such a view as heretical. This is what the Letter does in the first place. In the second place it forbids Catholics to join the Association, because by doing so they give scandal, for although they hold orthodox views themselves, still, by belonging to a society which prominently puts forward the aforesaid heterodox view, they give just cause for people to suppose that they are not opposed to it themselves.

One of the leading Reunionists was Dr Littledale, and he now intervened with a pamphlet, *Unity and the Rescript; a Reply to Bishop Ullathorne's Letter against the A.P.U.C.* (20 pp.), this redoubtable controversialist's maiden effort in controversy. He opened with the acknowledgement, 'I have no objection to urge against the temper, or even the tone of the Letter.' His contention was that the programme and the principles of the A.P.U.C. had been misrepresented to Rome and misunderstood there, and the decree based on this misunderstanding; he declared it was well known to all that the Catholic members did not, and could not, hold the Branch Theory, and the manifesto was worded so as not to commit them to it. He himself equally naturally held it, and the second half of the pamphlet is a defence of it against Ullathorne's presentation of the Catholic teaching of a strict visible Unity.

The Catholic members, though they also thought that Rome had been misinformed and misled as to the nature of the Association, recognized the duty of submission. The principal ecclesiastics among them were a prominent Irish bishop, Dr Moriarty of Kerry, and Fr Lockhart the Rosminian. The latter wrote to de Lisle, who at once sent his withdrawal to the secretary in a form suggested by Lockhart :¹

I write to inform you that I withdraw my name from the A.P.U.C., *under protest*, as an act of submission to the authority of the Holy See, although I maintain that the authorities have been deceived by a false relation of facts.

To Wiseman he wrote :² 'I certainly never held, or for a moment dreamt of holding, any one of the principles or propositions condemned, maliciously imputed to the Association by those who misrepresented the case to the Holy See.

Lockhart wrote to Lee : 'What we meant was misunderstood by those among us in authority. To their decision I was, however, bound to bow.'³

Manning was looked on as the prime mover in bringing about the condemnation; there is no direct evidence of his action at this time, but the charge was probably well founded, and was one which, in view of the line he adopted a year later as archbishop, he would not have cared to disavow.

Newman was distressed at the tone of the letter :

'I cannot help feeling sorrow at the blow struck by the Holy Office at the members of the A.P.U.C.', he wrote to a friend; and to de Lisle : 'For myself, I did not see my way to belong to the Association, but I think its members have been treated cruelly.'⁴

The decree, of course, was an instruction to the English bishops, and so was couched in formal peremptory terms with little consideration for the Anglican Reunionists. But it had to be communicated to them, and it says much for the sincerity and earnestness of their desires, that the effect of so stern a rebuff was to make the leaders among them immediately set on foot an Appeal for a reconsideration of the case, on the ground that the A.P.U.C. had been misunder-

¹ *De Lisle*, I, 400.

² *Wiseman*, II, 490.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 389.

⁴ *Newman*, II, 82.

stood at Rome. De Lisle wrote to Wiseman in November 1864 begging him to secure a more gentle treatment :¹

All the Catholic dogmas except the Papal Supremacy are becoming gradually and generally accepted, as the necessary preliminary to accepting the latter also. So much so, that if by undue severity Rome should repel the advances of the Catholic-minded party in the Anglican Church towards Union with her, the movement towards Catholic dogma would not cease, but it would seek its solution in a hostile combination with ultra-Gallicans, schismatic Italians, Russo-Greeks, and other Orientalists, against Rome. Meantime a very humble and conciliatory letter has been drawn up by the Anglican leaders, and it is now being circulated for signatures, which I understand are likely to be numerous. This letter, before it is despatched to Rome, will first be submitted to your Eminence for approval, in the earnest hope that your Eminence may be induced to write to the Holy Father himself an earnest appeal to his generous and loving heart not to despise the humble effort which is being made *in all sincerity* to reconcile the English with the Roman Church.

De Lisle asked to be allowed to introduce some of the leaders to Wiseman, to lay before him the draft of the Appeal; but Wiseman, then virtually on his deathbed, could see only de Lisle, who a few days later wrote :²

I must thank you most warmly for your great kindness in receiving me, when you were still so unwell, and for conversing with me on this great subject of the reconversion of England. . . . I explained that you felt that the parties who thought their intentions had been misunderstood had a full right to explain their real views to the Holy See, and that you would convey to the Holy See the letter of the Anglican clergy drawn up for that purpose.

In his contribution to the volume of *Essays on Reunion* (1867) he says that on this occasion Wiseman said on his deathbed, 'No orthodox Catholic can oppose the Corporate Reunion of any separated branch of the baptized Body with our Catholic Mother, the parent stock, from which it has been severed.'

With such encouragement the Appeal went forward. The

¹ *De Lisle*, I, 392.

² *Ibid.*, 394.

full text is given in translation by Purcell.¹ It is addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of the Holy Office :

Most Eminent Lord—We the undersigned deans, canons, parish priests, and other priests of the Anglo-Catholic Church, earnestly desiring visible reunion, according to the Will of Christ, among all the parts of the Christian Family, have read with great grief your Eminence's letter to the English bishops.

The letter blames the Manifesto of the Society for affirming that the three Communions, Roman Catholic, Eastern, and Anglican, lay claim with equal right to the name Catholic. But no opinion is expressed on this question. What was said touches the question of *fact*, not of *right*. We only affirmed that the Anglican Church does lay claim to the name Catholic, as it evidently does in its formularies.

Moreover, as to the intention of our Society, the letter asserts our special aim to be 'that the three Communions, each in its integrity and persisting in its own persuasion, may come together into one.' Far from us and from our Society be such an aim as this; from which were to be anticipated not ecclesiastical unity, but the discord of brethren in personal conflict under one roof. What we pray God for and desire with our whole heart is nothing else than the oecumenical intercommunion which existed before the schism of East and West, established on one and the same profession of Catholic Faith. That 'there may be One Fold and One Shepherd' alone finds place in our desires, and this principle and yearning we express to your Eminence with the utmost earnestness, with sincere heart and voice unfeigned.

The Appeal was signed by a hundred and ninety-eight clergymen of the Church of England. Before it was ready for presentation Cardinal Wiseman was dead, and so de Lisle had to turn to Talbot, a personal friend, and ask him to be the medium for laying the Appeal before the Holy Father, 'imploping him to persuade the Pope to deal mildly and paternally with any Englishmen who looked with longing eyes towards Reunion and the Mother Church of Christendom.'² Talbot approached Pius IX, who expressed his readiness to receive the Appeal: 'If the document be sent

¹ *Manning*, II, 279. The Latin text is given by Ullathorne, second Letter, and Manning, pastoral on Reunion, 1866, with translations.

² *De Lisle*, I, 403. Half a dozen of Talbot's letters are printed there.

to me I shall present it to the Holy Father, who I am certain will give his full attention to it, and will send an answer, and at the same time will be careful not to offend by using harsh expressions. You may be certain, however, that he will not sacrifice an iota of the whole Catholic doctrine, were it even to convert the whole of England.'

This letter was written on the actual eve of Manning's appointment as archbishop. The Appeal was sent to Talbot, and soon he wrote to Manning, in the name of the Holy Office, to consult him as to the kind of answer that should be returned. Manning replied on July 18:¹

1. I feel assured that a letter from the Holy See, full of *charity* and full of dogmatic truths, will be most powerful upon not only the Unionists, but upon public opinion in England. It is a new fact, a new crisis, for Englishmen, above all clergy, to be seeking the Holy Father. In this aspect I have always encouraged, not the Union, but the movement, which they have disguised.

2. But it is vital that the dogmatic part should be most explicit.

They have been in no sense misunderstood. The Holy Office most truly appreciated their position and their statements. Their present answer is proof enough. They say that they do not believe that there are three Churches *de jure*, but only *de facto*. But this denies (1) the exclusive unity of the Catholic and Roman Church, and (2) its exclusive infallibility, and (3) the universal duty and necessity of submission to it.

These three points they do not hold. They hold that the three are all alike *de facto* Churches. By *de jure* they do not mean 'divine right', which the Anglican and Greek Churches have forfeited, and against which they are sinning. Under the disguise of this theory lies hid the old assumption of the *divisibility* of the Church, and its consequent loss of *perfection* only. And this assumes *also* the suspension of infallibility, and, therefore, of the perpetual divine assistance of the Holy Spirit. You know all this as well as I do, but I write it because I know that these *de facto* and *de jure* theologians do not hold it.

Mr de Lisle wrote to me the other day saying that there are I know not how many who desire to be reconciled to the Pope. I had rather hear of one who will submit to the

¹ Purcell, *Manning*, p. 281.

infallible voice of the Church. This is the one point which they do not hold or see.

But a letter of the Holy Father will be the surest way under God to open their eyes, and it will be a text for us to preach about. It will be a part of the Holy Father's mission to the English people, which is visible in this pontificate.

When he went to Rome for the Pallium in September he had talks at the Holy Office on the reply to the Appeal, and after he came away the Letter was finally approved and signed by the Cardinal Secretary on November 8. The Letter was addressed to the signatories, and the first words struck a discordant note, in that the title 'Reverend' was withheld, they being addressed as 'Honorabiles et dilectissimi Domini'. It is a lengthy dogmatic letter occupying some eight pages of print.¹ It again condemned the Branch Theory, reasserting uncompromisingly the declaration of the previous decree, that the Church is always undivided and indivisible, and that its Unity is not broken by schisms or secessions. 'The Church of Christ has never lost her Unity, nor ever will lose it . . . she cannot possibly be rent or divided.'

Strong though it was, it was not all that Manning and Talbot had worked for: the latter said, 'It is not exactly what I should have wished', but 'it has cost me a great deal of trouble and anxiety'; 'it is difficult, almost impossible, to make Italians understand the Anglican mind'; and the former, 'I had hoped for more, but it will do.'² This shows it had been no easy task to tune the authorities at Rome up to the Manning pitch. And this fact, coupled with words of Manning in a letter at the same time to Ullathorne, 'Mr de Lisle has, I fear, some letters of the Cardinal [Wiseman] which imply more tolerance of the Union than could be wished',³ cannot but give rise to the thought: Might not the handling of the situation have been different, and the outcome something other than the mere

¹ The Latin text, along with English version, is given in Ullathorne's second Letter and in Manning's pastoral on Reunion; the English in *de Lisle*, I, 417 ff.

² Purcell, pp. 282-4.

³ *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 210.

stifling of aspirations which never since have flowed in like volume, had the matter been in Wiseman's hands, while in the full maturity of his powers and influence and generous optimistic sympathy?

Manning lost no time in publishing the Letter with a pastoral on *The Reunion of Christendom*. He sent the manuscript to Ullathorne, who thought some things in it 'sharp': Manning revised it in the light of this criticism.¹ Purcell cites two passages; a sympathetic feature is the reference to the great body of English Nonconformity, as claiming the solicitude of the Catholic Church, no less than the High Church school of the Established Church.²

In the autumn of this year, 1865, appeared Dr Pusey's *Eirenicon*, a product of the Reunion movement, and destined more than any other writing to fix the lines on which the High Anglican position has been maintained from that day to this. It was occasioned by a printed letter from Manning to Pusey at the end of 1864, *The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England*. Couched in terms of cordial friendship for Pusey, it recognized freely and thankfully the great religious wave and outpouring of grace passing over England and illuminating the hearts of Churchmen and Nonconformists alike—but as individuals: the Church of England is no part of the Church Catholic, and in the strict sense no Church at all. The chief objective of Pusey's tract was therefore that which is proclaimed in the subtitle: 'The Church of England a Portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church, and a Means of Restoring Visible Unity.'

Ullathorne felt called upon to take up the controversy once more, in a second *Letter* of 100 pp.: *The Anglican Theory of Union as maintained in the Appeal to Rome and Dr Pusey's 'Eirenicon'*. This work was occupying him in the spring of 1866. He writes on March 1:³

I am in the middle of a pamphlet on the Appeal of the Unionists. The Appellants charge Rome with falsifying their programme in two places; and, of course, Rome cannot

¹ Purcell, p. 284.

² *Ibid.*, p. 286.

³ *Letters*, p. 158. The year there given, 1865, must be an error for 1866: on March 1, 1865, neither had the Appeal yet gone to Rome, nor had the *Eirenicon* been published.

enter into a controversy with them. It is a vile Jansenistic document; and Dr Pusey's views on the Church, which I must also take in, are simply astounding.

The words of this letter, 'vile Jansenistic document', are, I must say, the only ones of Ullathorne which I have met that cause real pain. In its circumstances the Appeal was a pathetic document, and its use of 'right and fact' was quite different from the famous distinction of the Jansenists.

We may pass over the portions of the *Letter* concerned only with the A.P.U.C. controversy, and turn to the substantive portion, that concerned with Pusey's advocacy of the Branch Theory. Ullathorne's response is a solid, careful, learned piece of controversial writing, worthy of attention still at this day, quite a telling defence of the Visibility of the Church and its visible Unity as proclaimed in the Holy Office documents. Pusey was beyond question the most formidable combatant with whom he ever crossed swords, and of course he was not his equal in learning and scholarship; still he produces a goodly array of Fathers and Councils and marshals his authorities in good order. He was justified in writing of it, 'I think this will be the most important piece of work I have yet taken in hand.'¹ Such a piece as the following, uncontroversial in scope, seems worthy of being rescued from oblivion:²

Next to the Incarnation, the most marvellous work of God is the creation and sustainment of the Church. A Church all of saints, like a Church all of angels, however impossible to be realized in a world like this, out of sinful men, with free wills to resist God—even a Church of saints is not so miraculous a work as a Church Universal, holding together in unity, though composed of sinners as well as saints. In the creation of man and the world, there was no resistance—all was in the hands of God. But in the creation of the Church, God had to deal with materials countless in number and diversity, in antagonism with, or in isolation from, each other; in endless complexity of error, vice, pride, self-assertion; and above all, in resistance to their divine Author. He had to deal with countless wills, each a centre of resistance; with countless animal lives, each a fountain of corruption, that withstood the Spirit of God. He had to deal with

¹ *Letters*, p. 165.

² *Anglican Theory*, p. 32.

countless errors, vulgar as well as philosophical. Above all, He had to deal with human pride in all its shapes, and to find, in the first instance, a remedy for that pride, ere His grace could do its work. How the remedy was provided against this root of evil resistance is of the last importance in considering the creation of the Church. Our Lord selected the rudest, poorest men, put His power into them, incorporated other men, body and soul, with them; required all who would be saved to obey Him in them—that is, in men like themselves; to be subject to their word, to bring their hearts and minds into the captivity of their authority, and to receive His graces at their hands. He called on them to believe this ineffable mystery, that the power of God resides in men of like passions with themselves, carrying the grace of God and the infallible truth in frail vessels. It was thus that our Lord struck at the pride of the human heart, and gave at the same time security, even tangible security, such as men need, that they were of the Church of God.

He sent a copy to Pusey and received the following reply :

I beg to thank your Lordship for your kindness in sending me your recent Pastoral. It was only received to-day, and I have been able as yet only to read the first pages, which relate to a plan to which I did not belong. I pray for reunion, but I had not part in the organization. I regret deeply to see that your Lordship thinks organic reunion of the Church of England with that of Rome impossible. I think that it lies in the Will of God, with whom all things are possible.

This second Letter was published at Easter, 1866; but already at the previous Christmas had appeared Newman's *Letter to Dr Pusey*, which became the outstanding Catholic reply to the *Eirenicon*, though concerned only with a single, and that a subordinate issue, Ullathorne's being the only reply that directly challenged the central position, the theory of the Church. Besides advocating the Branch Theory and the validity of the Church of England's claim to be a Branch of the Catholic Church, Pusey had animadverted on certain tendencies among Catholics in matters of doctrine and devotion that were barriers in the way of Reunion; and he especially signalized writings of Faber and Ward as giving vent to extravagances, respectively, in regard to devotion to the Blessed Virgin and to the extent and nature of the papal infallibility. Ward's views on infallibility will have

to occupy us in the chapter after the next; Newman in his *Letter* confined himself to Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin. A good account of his treatment of the subject is given by W. Ward.¹ Pusey for his instances of doctrinal and devotional exaggerations among Catholics had relied chiefly on Faber and Ward. Newman threw them over: while recognizing their great merits, he said:²

The plain fact is this—they came to the Church, and have thereby saved their souls; but they are in no sense spokesmen for English Catholics, and they must not stand in the place of those who have a real title to such an office. [He mentions as such, Wiseman, Ullathorne, Lingard, and half a dozen others.] Which of these ecclesiastics has said anything extreme about the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin or the infallibility of the Pope? I cannot, without remonstrance, allow you to identify the doctrine of our Oxford friends in question, on the two subjects I have mentioned, with the present spirit or the prospective creed of Catholics; or to assume, as you do, that, because they are thoroughgoing and relentless in their statements, therefore they are the harbingers of a new age. For myself, I take my stand upon the Fathers and do not mean to budge. The Fathers made me a Catholic, and I do not mean to kick down the ladder by which I ascended into the Church. As regards our teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin, with the Fathers I am content—they are enough for me. I do not wish to say more than they suggest to me, and will not say less. . . . I write afresh, because there just now seems a call on me to avow plainly what I do and what I do not hold about the Blessed Virgin, that others may know, did they come to stand where I stand, what they would, and what they would not, be bound to hold concerning her.

This citation was necessary in order to make intelligible much of what is to follow. The body of the *Letter* is a presentation of the teaching of the Fathers concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, drawn out with all Newman's great knowledge and consummate skill; it closes with a section on 'Anglican Misconceptions and Catholic Excesses', wherein is made the distinction between doctrine and devotion:³

Though doctrine is one and the same everywhere, devotions are matters of the particular time and the particular

¹ *Newman*, II, ch. xxiii.

² End of § 2.

³ Middle of § 5.

country. I suppose we owe it to the national good sense that English Catholics have been protected from the extravagances which are elsewhere to be found. . . . There is a healthy devotion to the Blessed Mary, and there is an artificial; it is possible to love her as a Mother, to honour her as a Virgin, to seek her as a Patron, and to exalt her as a Queen, without any injury to solid piety and Christian good sense—I cannot help calling this the English style. I wonder whether you find anything to displease you in the *Garden of the Soul* [the ‘Challoner’ prayer-book], the *Key of Heaven* [or other old-fashioned standard prayer-books]. I do not observe anything in them which goes beyond the teaching of the Fathers, except so far as devotion goes beyond doctrine.

The *Letter*, while welcomed with enthusiasm by the general run of English Catholics, caused grave displeasure to Manning, now Archbishop, Ward, Talbot, and the others, whom we shall hear Ullathorne designating as ‘the Camarilla’. Their correspondence about the *Letter* must be cited in part here, as it furnishes the clearest formulation of the grounds of Manning’s distrust and disapproval of Newman—a matter that may not be shirked by any writer on Catholic affairs in England at the time.

On February 20, 1866, Talbot wrote to Manning:¹

I have read Newman’s Letter to Pusey. The patristic argument is admirable and unanswerable, but there is nothing new in it. . . . I am afraid that the *Rambler* and the old school of Catholics will rally round Newman in opposition to you and Rome. Stand firm, do not yield a bit in the line you have taken. . . . I repeat myself, continue to stand forward as the advocate of Roman views in England. . . . You will have battles to fight, because every Englishman is naturally anti-Roman. To be Roman is to an Englishman an effort. Dr Newman is more English than the English. His spirit must be crushed.

This letter would not have been worth quoting but for the answer it elicited from Manning, which, as Purcell rightly says, is of prime importance. On receipt of it Manning replied, February 25:²

. . . What you write about Dr Newman is true. Whether he knows it or not, he has become the centre of those who

¹ Purcell, p. 322, note.

² *Ibid.*, 322.

hold low views about the Holy See, are anti-Roman, cold and silent, to say no more, about the Temporal Power, national, English, critical of Catholic devotions, and always on the lower side. I see no danger of a Cisalpine Club rising again, but I see much danger of an English Catholicism of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone transplanted into the Church. It takes the line of deprecating exaggerations, foreign devotions, Ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies. In one word, it is worldly Catholicism, and it will have the worldly on its side, and will deceive many.

Now Ward and Faber may exaggerate, but they are a thousand times nearer to the mind and spirit of the Holy See than those who oppose them. Between us and these there is a far greater distance than between these and Dr Pusey's book. I know that the Anglicans look on the *Apologia* as a plea for remaining as they are. What makes this more anxious is that there is the same school growing up in France. I hear that there is a party who think Cardinal Patrizi's letters [on A.P.U.C.] 'hard', and who are talking of 'Bossuet' and a 'General Council', like Dr. Pusey; also Patterson tells me that Dr Döllinger is writing against the prerogatives of the Holy See.

Now all these things portend storms, and we shall have them in England. But I have no fear. So long as I know that I have only repeated the words of the Holy See I have no anxiety.

The thing which will save us from low views about the Mother of God and the Vicar of our Lord is the million Irish in England, and the sympathy of the Catholics in Ireland. These two things are with anyone who speaks up to the highest note on these two great truths. I am thankful to know that they have no sympathy for the watered, literary, worldly Catholicism of certain Englishmen. It will spread somewhat among the English priests, and will find no little favour among English Jesuits; but the religious of every Order instinctively feel that it is not the mind of the Church. I have, therefore, no great anxiety. It will need much prudence to avoid splits and contradictions among ourselves. But I think we shall do it. Compared with Milner's days, ours are ultramontane. Even our Anglicanizing Catholics are higher than Milner's colleagues. And, lastly, the bishops are really united and at peace. I do not believe we have the least danger of dissension. I have had full and confidential communication with most of them, and I doubt if there be a single point of difference among us, certainly not one which cannot be safely yielded for the greater gain of peace.

I think, therefore, I can assure you that I have no cause for anxiety. I will keep you fully informed, and you will take care that things are correctly known and understood where you are.

The *Letter* to Pusey again brought Ullathorne into close relation with Newman and with Manning. About one passage in the *Letter* he was unhappy, that contrasting the Catholic and Protestant conceptions of Original Sin. In the first issue it read as follows :

Our doctrine of original sin is not the same as the Protestant doctrine. 'Original sin', with us, cannot be called sin, in the ordinary sense of the word 'sin'; it is a term denoting the *imputation* of Adam's sin, or the state to which Adam's sin reduces his children; but by Protestants it is understood to be sin, in the same sense as actual sin. Protestants hold that it is a disease, a change of nature, a poison internally corrupting the soul, and propagated from father to son, after the manner of a bad constitution. We hold nothing of the kind (p. 50).

On February 12 Ullathorne wrote to Newman :¹

I have been so incessantly occupied that I have not yet thanked you for your most beautiful Reply to Dr Pusey's *Eirenicon*. You have thrown a fresh light upon the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and have rendered a great service to the Church in this country, by securing the understanding of what that doctrine is, and is not, to many souls.

You will allow me as a matter of private remark, as between friends, to say that, of the few clergy whom I have heard speak, both here and in the North, after reading the book, whilst expressing their admiration of it, they seem to hesitate, as if something was not clear to them in the exposition of original sin. As I have heard similar remarks from three or four thoughtful men, in different places, it led me to look at what you had written somewhat closely.

They could not, or did not, tell me what it was that made them hesitate, but it strikes me that it is probably this : 'Protestants hold that original sin is . . . a poison internally corrupting the soul, and propagated from father to son . . . We hold nothing of the kind.' Of course it is not a poison, that is a positive something in the soul, propagated, etc. But most readers do not stop to weigh words accurately, and the impression that the propagation of original sin is somehow denied gets imprinted on their minds.

¹ Oratory.

Then, just before, you have said it denotes 'the *imputation* of Adam's sin, or the state to which Adam's sin reduces his children'. Bellarmine has also used the phrase, 'imputation of Adam's sin'; but it is unusual, and in this country the unorthodox doctrine conveyed in the phrase 'imputation of righteousness', as excluding the idea of inherent or subjective righteousness, may suggest the notion that somehow the word 'imputation' may convey to readers the notion that original sin is not inherent, subjective, or propagated. And although the second clause of the proposition, 'the state to which Adam's sin reduces his children', makes your sense clear; still, it strikes me that, as I have said, readers who do not ponder and compare terms with theological care, may easily puzzle themselves with the impression left by the salient words: 'imputation of Adam's sin', and 'propagation from father to son—we know nothing of it.'

I may not have hit upon what it is that has puzzled men on a first reading, whom you know and respect; but I thought you would wish me to tell you of the fact, and that you would be pretty sure to ask me what I thought was the reason of it. Of course I do not for a moment question the correctness of your exposition of the essence or *formale* of original sin, which comes out clearly on careful reading.

Hoping you are well, and praying Almighty God to bless you and your brethren, I remain always your faithful servant and affectionate friend—

The next day Newman replied:¹

I feel very grateful to your Lordship for your valuable and discriminating letter. In proportion to the anxiety which my pamphlet has caused me, is the relief and the gratification I feel in finding that you think it may be useful. Thank you especially for your remarks on the passage about original sin. I am sending corrections to the printer, leaving out both 'imputation' and 'propagated'.

The passage as amended may be read in the subsequent editions: 'imputation of Adam's sin' is altered into 'Adam's sin as transferred to us'.²

On February 12 Ullathorne had written to Manning, 'I have given Newman a hint of want of clearness on original sin'; and on 14th he sent Newman's letter, saying, 'I am

¹ Oratory.

² It occurs in section on 'Immaculate Conception', p. 47, in edition of collected works.

sure you will be pleased to read the enclosed. [He gives purport of his own, and concludes:] I know the Oratorians at Birmingham are much pleased with a little note you have sent, and I know that since your elevation they have been thoroughly loyal to you.¹

Manning's note to Newman was:²

I asked Canon Morris to express to you the pleasure with which I had read your treatment of the Patristic proof of the dignity and sanctity of our Lady. I should have written myself, but was laid up with a cold. Your proof of the devotion of the 'undivided Church' is complete; and I thank you for doing, so much more fully, that which I am going to attempt. I had especially marked the passages from St Irenaeus, St Justin, and Tertullian, which seem to me the basis, abundantly wide enough. It seems to me also that you have very justly, and very kindly, shown how completely absent from Dr Pusey's book is any recognition of what he would profess to be due to our Blessed Mother, either of veneration or of love. All this cannot fail to do much good, and I trust your treatment of it will have a wide effect.

Newman answered:

I was going to write to thank you for your Pastoral, and now I have to thank you also for your remarks on my pamphlet in the letter that has just come. My notice of St Justin, St Irenaeus, and Tertullian, as a basis of argument, is taken from my essay on Development of Doctrine, as indeed is the greater part of the pamphlet. I have done little more than throw it into a more popular form.

Manning had looked for something more responsive, and in a letter to Ullathorne called this answer 'the driest possible'. But Newman had reason for his reserve. He was well aware that the disavowal of Faber and Ward as representative Catholic spokesmen would give offence to Manning and his friends. And on March 4 Ward wrote to Ullathorne:³

I have written a short article for the *Dublin Review* on Fr Newman's new pamphlet, in which I have expressed much admiration for one part, but some difference on another.

¹ Leslie, p. 273.

² Oratory.

³ Leslie (*Manning*, p. 280) puts this letter in 1875, connecting it with the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*; but it belongs to 1866.

The Archbishop is extremely anxious—though, indeed, not more so than myself—that there may be nothing in it which can possibly be taken to imply disrespect, or can cause any exasperation of feeling. He has not yet seen it, as it is only just sent to press; but he is desirous—if you would kindly take so much trouble—that you and the Bishop of Southwark may see it with the view of making whatever suggestions may occur to you.

Ullathorne refused, on the ground that, as Newman's bishop and ecclesiastical judge, it fell to him to pronounce judgement on his writings, and so he would not commit himself by any previous extrajudicial opinion.¹ Ward replied, March 8, that the Archbishop 'thoroughly understands your feeling in the matter, and I have asked the Bishop of Clifton to do me the service in question.' The letter to Clifford must have been much less guarded than the one to Ullathorne, for on March 19 he wrote to Ullathorne:

When I received a request to look over an article in the *Dublin*, written, I was told, because it was necessary not to pass over in silence the slur Dr Newman had cast on foreign Catholics, and to correct several anti-Catholic statements in his *Letter*, which was, moreover, stigmatized as Protestant, I felt it was time to speak out. I wrote back to say that I was not a fit person to be censor to the article in question, inasmuch as I greatly admired Dr Newman's *Letter*, and had failed to discover in it either Protestantism or anti-Catholic sentiments, or any attempt to cast a slur on foreign Catholics.

The intervention of Ullathorne and Clifford stopped the article. On March 24 Manning wrote to Ullathorne:²

I think it will be a satisfaction to you to know that the article on Dr Newman will not appear in the next number of the *Dublin*. There will be a short notice which has been written instead and examined by a censor. In justice to Mr Ward I ought to add that the original article had been examined and was considered to be calm and moderate and to contain nothing which ought not to be published. It is not published

¹ This reply of Ullathorne is derived from a letter of Newman (Ward, II, 124), dated January 3, 1866. But internal evidence shows this is an impossible date, and that the year was 1867. Newman clearly made the mistake we all are liable to make on the first two or three days of a new year.

² Leslie, p. 274; in full, *Dublin Review*, April, 1920, p. 211.

because of my desire, with which Mr Ward complied most promptly and with a true Catholic yielding of his own will and judgement. You will easily understand my reasons. Any internal variance would be sure to be seized and used by the public opinion of this country and the Protestants as a division in the Church. This ought to be averted at any personal cost. And I am most anxious that Dr Newman should be spared all pain.

Ullathorne at once wrote his sense of relief and his thanks :¹

I am very glad indeed you have induced Mr Ward to forgo his article, and that for two reasons : first for the reason which you mention, and which was a very strong one ; and, secondly, because it is a violation of a fundamental canon for a layman to pronounce judgement on the doctrine of a priest, and Dr Newman would have had his appeal to you against Mr Ward. As I had occasion to see Dr Newman yesterday on special business, I told him what you had done, and read to him that part of your letter which I felt would be satisfactory to him. Knowing also from other sources that a great deal of talk and excitement prevailed in London about the forthcoming article, a good deal of apprehension about what a writer to me designates as a ' Ward and Newman row ' ; knowing, also, that there were not wanting ' good-natured friends ' to write everything to Dr Newman, I thought it best to say to him that you had advised Mr Ward to submit his article to me, and that though I had declined on official grounds, yet it was under the clear impression that your one object was to give me the opportunity of checking anything that might happen to be unfair or unpleasant. Under ordinary circumstances this would look like betraying Mr Ward's correspondence ; but I verily believe that, from one quarter or another, everything that passes reaches Dr Newman, so I thought it prudent to put the transaction in a few words in its fair light. Unfortunately, rightly or wrongly, very strong expressions are reported about as having dropped from Mr Ward which might have embittered the interpretation of his article. I thank God, and I thank you, that the article is withdrawn. It made me feel light-hearted all yesterday.

The concluding words of the foregoing letter are illustrated by one from Bishop Grant to Manning at the same time :

I saw some letters of Dr Newman that made me see how intimately he is acquainted with everything said or even

¹ Leslie, p. 275.

thought about him in London. Perhaps Dr Ward repeats his views to friends that send them on to Dr Newman, and the bishop fears that Dr Newman looks on himself as persecuted. Hence the bishop's constant efforts to soothe his feelings.

Newman's own estimate of the reception of the *Letter* among Catholics is given in a letter to Pusey, April 2 :¹

The truth is, that certain views have been suffered without a word, till their maintainers have begun to fancy that they are *de fide*, and they are astonished and angry beyond measure when they find that silence on the part of others was not acquiescence, indifference, or timidity, but patience. My own bishop and Dr Clifford, and, I believe, most of the other bishops are with me. And I have had letters from the most important centres of theology and of education through the country, taking part with me. London, however, has for years been oppressed with various *incubi*; though I cannot forget, with great gratitude, that two years ago as many as a hundred and ten priests of the Westminster diocese, including all the canons, the Vicars General, the Jesuits, and other Orders, went out of their way (and were first to do so), to take my part before the *Apologia* appeared.

Pusey's *Eirenicon* produced a whole library of forgotten controversy on all sides—Catholic, High-Church, Anglican, and Protestant; and Newman's *Letter* produced its own special controversy among Catholics. Into the *Tablet*, March 10, a Mr E. R. Martin, a young layman, a raw convert, resident in Rome, and claiming to be 'spokesman of many who live in Rome, to whom much that Dr Newman has said has caused sorrow and pain', put a long letter, offensive to Newman and wantonly brutal in its treatment of the English Catholics 'of the passing generation'. The editor apologized for it, and dissociated himself from it; but he did not like to suppress discussion, and the letter was signed: the criticisms did not seem sound to him. 'However, let it go in.'

It called forth the following week a long and extremely able protest from Bishop Clifford against the 'effrontery' of the writer's 'most rash and unjustifiable attack' on the English Catholics; and it cannot be in doubt that it was this

¹ *Newman*, II, 113.

same attack that prompted Ullathorne's eloquent tribute to the fidelity of the Catholics of the old generation, and their deep and sterling religious qualities, in his Lenten Pastoral of the following year.¹ Clifford protested also against the unmannerly attack on Newman. He declared, as one who knew Roman society, that the devotions being pressed by many of the converts in England as 'Roman', were in reality the devotions of the South Italian peasantry, and that the modes of devotion to the Blessed Virgin practised by educated Romans were of the kind characterized by Newman as 'healthy', and akin to those of the old English Catholics in penal times. This will remind us of Edmund Bishop's summing up of the characteristics of the genuine native Roman rite as 'essentially soberness and sense'.²

For a month the correspondence columns of *Tablet* and *Weekly Register* teemed with letters, the great majority vindicating Newman and protesting against the attacks on him and on some of the great figures among the old Catholics, especially Lingard. Then, finally, on April 7, Ullathorne intervened with a long letter in Newman's behalf:

I had hoped that I should not have to write upon the remarks that have been so unjudiciously, as well as unfairly, put before the world respecting Dr Newman's *Letter to Dr Pusey*. Indeed, I am ashamed of being forced into this act of justice and charity. Little can they know of him on whom they pronounce their hasty and unauthorized judgments, who presume to tell the world that Dr Newman has derogated from the devotion which good Catholics pay to the Virgin Mother of our Lord. . . . What more exquisite or more ample proof could we have of the depth to which the singular privileges and glories of the Mother of our Lord have been imbibed into his mind and heart than the exposition of the mystery of the Immaculate Conception in the *Letter to Dr Pusey*—an exposition which, I have reason to know, has cleared away the difficulties that obscured the minds of several earnest inquirers with respect to the whole subject of the Blessed Virgin.

Is petty cavilling from Catholics without authority to be the present reward for a masterly exposition of the subject the most difficult for a Protestant to comprehend, and which has made that subject classical in the English tongue? In vain

¹ Reproduced in the *Letters*, pp. 180-3 (see above, p. 200).

² 'Genius of the Roman Rite' in *Liturgica Historica*, p. 19.

have I striven to find what Dr. Newman has written derogatory to devotion to the Blessed Virgin, or beyond the limits of theological prudence. I cannot fail to observe the earnestness with which he puts forth his whole soul in exalting each glorious privilege of the Immaculate Mother of our Lord.

There are some people, often in the first and tender green of their faith, who seem to think it impossible that there should be abuses or indiscretions in speaking of the Blessed Virgin. There can be no doubt that a certain prudence and measured wisdom of language is demanded according to the genius of a language and methods of thought which belong to a nation; and *that*, under the penalty of having our doctrines and sentiments completely misconceived. When you make crude translations of books used by a people (we will say like the Neapolitans), with their hyperboles and superlatives, neglecting the conditions of thought in the language of the people for whom you render them; instead of fairly representing those books, you do them injustice, as well as the people whose devotions they express, and the faith which they embody, and the readers into whose hands they are liable to fall. Ardent and enthusiastic phrases, intense with life in the hearts of those who used them in their native tongue, the very burning summits of a lava flood of devotion, are extracted, cold and flat, out of the frigid translation and industriously circulated in a thousand prints through the Protestant world for the purpose of showing that our Blessed Lord is taken by Catholics out of the economy of Redemption and our Lady put in His place. And thus thousands upon thousands are driven into blasphemous errors against the Church of Christ, and even against the Mother of our Lord. And all this comes from what in its own sense, and in its own place, is beautiful and true.

There is prudence of language specially needed in a country like this, and so long as we use the language of Popes, Councils, Fathers, theologians and liturgies as Dr Newman has done, so long shall we be able, as he likewise has done, to give the most perfect honour to the Mother of God. But even then let us guard the truth from human misconception as far as charity requires, whilst we withhold not the whole truth nor cool in our own devotion.

This spirit characterizes the Oratory of Birmingham, which is Roman in its devotions because it is Roman in the faith which its Fathers believe and teach.

This called forth from Newman a personal letter of thanks :¹

¹ Oratory.

In spite of all you told me and read to me of your Lordship's letter, I was not prepared for such extreme kindness and tender considerateness for me as it displays. It is a letter which must ever act as a great encouragement to us, as leading us humbly to trust that, in receiving the approbation of our earthly Superior, we have received the blessing of Him whom he represents, and to whom, amid all our infirmities and sins, we have wished to dedicate our lives.

He characterized it also as being 'overpoweringly gratifying'. To another mutual friend of his own and Ullathorne, Mother Imelda Poole of Stone, he wrote, May 27:¹

You must not speak as if I had anything to bear in what has passed about my late pamphlet. Nearly everyone has been kind to it. Two bishops (one my own) have actually written to the public papers in my behalf, and at great length. And in private a Benedictine bishop [Dr Brown] has written to me about it in high terms of commendation; so have a community of Dominican fathers; so has a Jesuit college, not to speak of other Jesuit communities in England and Ireland; an Irish bishop; a friend at Maynooth; a number of secular priests scattered about the country: and some of these persons with special reference to that particular portion of my pamphlet with which some persons are dissatisfied. So I have everything to be grateful for and no drawbacks.

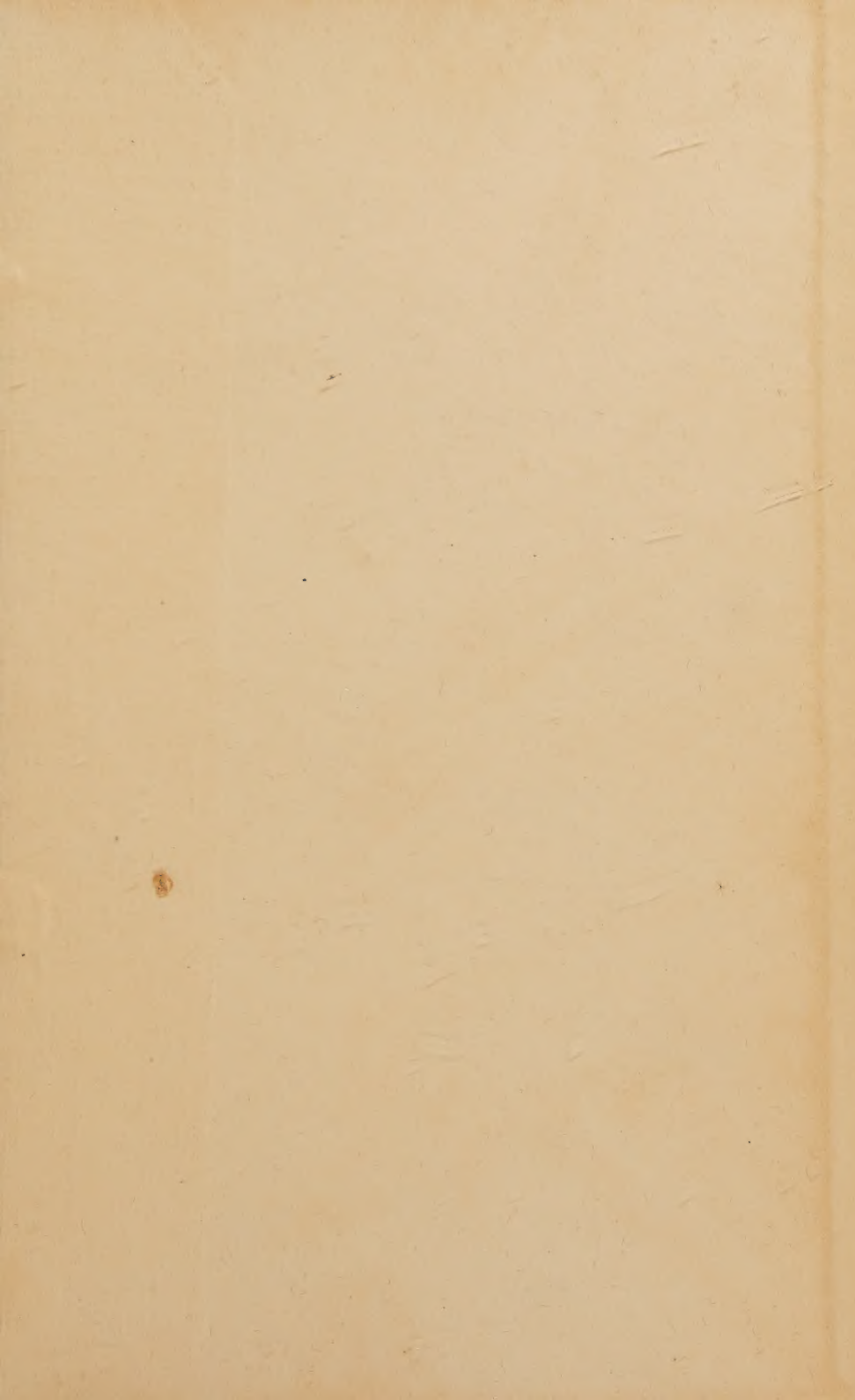
And there are other letters that bring out the fact that the general current of theological opinion among the English Catholics ran with Newman, the counter-current being limited to the group of Manning's inner circle. At Rome, too, the sympathy seems to have been with him. Dr Polding had passed through Rome on his way home, and on his arrival in England, Ullathorne wrote to Newman, June 19:²

I think you will be glad to know that Dr Polding told me he had not heard a word in Rome which was not in commendation and satisfaction on Bishop Clifford's and my letters on your adversaries.


¹ Oratory.

² Ibid.

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